

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

BY

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VOLUME VI.

*MARY
ELIZABETH*

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CHAPTER XXXIV

CALAIS

NOT far from Abingdon, on the London ¹⁵⁵⁶ road, was a house belonging to a gentle-^{January.} man named Christopher Ashton Here, on their way to and fro between the western counties and the capital, members of Parliament, or other busy persons, whom the heat of the times tempted from their homes, occasionally called, and the character of the conversation which was to be heard in that house, may be gathered from the following depositions On the 4th of January, Sir Nicholas Arnold looked in, and found Sir Henry Dudley there

‘Well, Sir Nicholas, what news?’ said Ashton

‘None worth hearing,’ Arnold answered

‘I am sure you hear they go about a coronation,’ Dudley said

‘I hear no such matter,’ said Arnold ‘The news that are worth the hearing, are in such men’s heads that will not utter them, and the rest are not to be credited’¹

¹ Saying of Sir Nicholas Arnold. *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol vi

'There be news come out of Flanders, as I heard from Sir Peter Mewtas,' said Ashton, laughing, to another visitor.¹ 'The King has written to the Queen that he will not come hither a great while, or, as men think, any more; and the Queen was in a rage, and caused the King's picture to be carried out of the privy chamber, and she in a wonderful storm, and could not be in any wise quieted.'²

'They have put me in the Tower for their pleasures,' said Sir Anthony Kingston; 'but so shall they never do more.'³

February At another time Sir Henry Peckham was alone with Ashton. Peckham⁴ had been one of the sharers in the forfeited estates of the Duke of Norfolk. He was obliged to relinquish his grant, with but small compensation, and he complained of his treatment. Ashton bade him 'be of good cheer'

'If you will keep my counsel,' Ashton said, 'I will tell you news that will bring your land again or it be long'

Peckham promised to be secret; and Ashton con-

¹ The conversations with Ashton were sometimes at his own house, sometimes at an inn by the water-side, near Lambeth, sometimes at other places. The localities are not always easy to make out.

² Deposition of Thomas White, *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol vii

³ Wolton to the Queen, cypher: *French MSS*, bundle 13 State Paper Office Kingston was one of

the members of the House of Commons who was imprisoned at the close of the late session, for the freedom of his language in Parliament. He was 'Vice-Admiral of the Ports about the Severn,' and a man of large influence in the Welsh Marches.

⁴ Younger son of Sir Edward Peckham, Clerk of the Household, and Member of Council under Edward VI

tinued, 'Sir Anthony Kingston, and a great many of the western gentlemen, are in a confederacy to send the Queen's Highness over to the King, and make the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and to marry the Earl of Devonshire to the said Lady Elizabeth. The laws of the realm will bear it, that they may do it justly, and Sir Anthony Kingston hath required me to hearken to King Henry VIII's will; for there is sufficient matter for our purpose, as Sir Anthony doth tell me. I pray, if you can, help me to it.'

Peckham said it was to be had in the Rolls. Ashton did not like to put himself in the way of suspicion by asking to see it publicly, and begged Peckham to obtain a copy for him elsewhere.

'I will show you a token,' he then said, and took out half a broken penny, 'the other half is with Sir Anthony, and whensoever I do send this same to Sir Anthony, then will he be in readiness with ten thousand men within three days upon receipt of this token.' If Lord Pembroke's men made resistance on the Marches, Kingston would cut them off, and would be in London in twenty days at furthest. And 'when this is done,' Ashton continued, 'your father shall be made a duke; for I tell you true, that the Lady Elizabeth is a jolly liberal dame, and nothing so unthankful as her sister is; and she taketh this liberality of her mother, who was one of the bountifullest women in all her time or since; and then shall men of good service and gentlemen be esteemed.'

Peckham, who had not anticipated so dangerous a

confidence, looked grave and uneasy; 'Ashton said he hoped he would not betray him. 'No,' Peckham answered, and gave him his hand with his promise

'I will tell you more, then,' his friend went on; 'we shall have that will take our part, the Earl of Westmoreland, who will not come alone, and we shall have my Lord Williams.'¹

'That cannot be,' Peckham said; 'he hath served the Queen right well, and by her Highness was made lord.'

'I can better tell than you,' Ashton answered, 'the Lord Williams is a good fellow, and is as unthankfully dealt with as you, Sir Henry. I tell you that he is sure on our side: and Sir Henry Dudley hath spoken with all the gentlemen that be soldiers, that be about the town, and they be all sure ours, so that we have left the Queen never a man of war that is worth a button.'²

The scene changes. Readers of the earlier volumes of this history will remember Arundel's, in Lawrence Poultney-lane, where Lord Surrey and his friends held their nightly festivities. Times had changed, and so had Arundel's. It was now the resort of the young Liberal members of Parliament, where the Opposition tactics in the House of Commons were discussed and settled upon. Here during the late session had met the men whose names have been mentioned in the pre-

¹ Lord Williams of Thame, who superintended the executions of
² Confession of Sir Henry Peckham *Mary, Domestic, MS* vol viii
 Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

ceeding conversation, and who had crossed the Queen's purposes, Kingston, Peckham, Ashton, Dudley, and with them Sir John Perrot, Sir William Courtenay, Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir John Chichester, and two young Tremaynes, of Colacombe in Devonshire, one of whom had been concerned with Wyatt and Carew. Here also came John Daniel, in the service at one time of Lord Northampton, who, not being in Parliament, was excluded from the more private consultations, but heard much of the general talk, 'how they, with great wilfulness, as might be perceived by their behaviour, did sore mislike such Catholic proceedings as they saw the Queen went about, and did intend to resist such matters as should be spoken of in the Parliament House other than liked them.'¹

The party broke up with the dissolution. Some of them, however, came back to London, and Daniel, one afternoon in March, was waiting for his dinner in the public room, when a ruffling March cavalier, named Ned Horsey, came in, humming a catch of 'Good man priest, now beware your pallet,' 'and bringing out a rhyme thereto of 'Fire and faggot,' and 'helm and sallet'."

'I desire to live no longer than Whitsuntide next,' Horsey said to Daniel, 'for if I live so long, I mistrust not but my deeds shall be chronicled'

'Tush, my boy,' he went on, 'be of good cheer; for when thou shalt hear what the matter is, thou wilt

¹ Confession of John Daniel. *MSS Mary, Domestic*, vol. viii

take up thy hand and bless thee, and marvel that such young heads could ever bring such a matter as this to pass. I tell thee, the matter hath been a-brewing this quarter of a year at least, when thou wast in the country like a lout. Well, well, man, we shall either be men shortly, or no men, yea, and that very shortly, too'

'Tell me what you mean,' said Daniel.

'Alas! good lout,' quoth Horsey, 'and do you not know, I pray you? hath not Harry Dudley told you of it?'

'No, by the faith of a Christian man,' said Daniel, 'Harry Dudley told me nothing except that he was going into France. But I pray thee, good Ned Horsey, tell me'

By God's blood!' said Horsey, 'then I will not tell you, for we have all taken an oath on the Testament, that no man should break it to any man, except as told first by Harry Dudley'

Horsey went on to talk of preparations, in which Daniel had been concerned, for an expedition to Southampton. Daniel, being a man of property, had undertaken to provide the horses, and had deposited a sum of money for the purpose, but, from Horsey's words, he perceived that schemes were on foot, which, having something to lose, he had better keep clear of. 'His heart,' he said, 'rys in his body as big as a loaf;' he left the table, went down into the garden, and walked up and down an alley to collect himself, at last he ran into an arbour, where he knelt and said his prayers.

‘What, man!’ said Sir John Harrington, looking in, ‘you are well occupied on your knees so soon after dinner’

Daniel made up his mind that his friends were bringing him into a fool’s paradise; ‘as they did brew, so they should bake for him, and those heads that had studied it before he came to town should work the end of it’ He stole away, therefore, and crossed the river to Southwark, where he took into his confidence a surgeon named Blacklock. Daniel pretended a broken leg, which Blacklock pretended to set: and thus the expedition to Southampton went off without him, the object of it being the despatch of one of the party into France, and the arrangement of the details of the conspiracy with the Captain of the Isle of Wight.

The characters of the persons who were concerned in this new plot against Mary’s throne will not require much further elucidation. Sir Henry Dulley was Northumberland’s cousin—the same who had been employed by the Duke as an agent with the French Court, the rest were eager, headstrong, not very wise young men, who, in the general indignation of the country at the barbarity of the Government, saw an opportunity of pushing themselves into distinction. Lord Willoughby, Lord Westmoreland, and Lord Oxford were suspected by the Queen of being unsound in religion, they had been reprimanded, and Oxford was thought likely to lose his lands¹. If the first move could be made suc-

¹ Nouvelles to the King of France, March 12 *Ambassades*, vol. v

cessfully, the conspirators counted on general support from these noblemen, and indeed from the whole body of the lay peers

The plan was identical with that of Wyatt and Suffolk and Carew. Kingston was to march on London from Wales, and the force of the western counties was to join him on the Severn. One of the Throgmortons, called 'Long John,' had been at the French Court, and made arrangements with Henry. Throgmorton returned to England, and Henry Dudley crossed the Channel in his place. The French promised to supply ships and money, while Dudley undertook to furnish them with crews from among the refugees or the western privateers, as Carew had done two years before. The Captain of the Isle of Wight, Uvedale, undertook to betray the island and Hurst Castle to the French. Dudley was to attack Portsmouth, where he would find the cannon 'pegged,'¹ and when Portsmouth was taken, Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent were expected to rise.

Although known to so many persons, the secret was well kept. On Dudley's disappearance, inquiries were made about him. It was pretended that he was in debt, and had gone abroad to escape from his creditors. Some suspicion attached to the Tremaynes, who had long been connected with the privateers at Scilly. Strangways, the pirate, happened to be taken prisoner, and told something to the council about them which led to their arrest; but though the matter was 'true enough,'

¹ Uvedale's Confession. *Mary, Domestic, MS*, vol. vii, Peckham's Confession, vol. viii.

they bore down their accuser by mere courageous audacity of denial¹, and their resolution and fidelity were held up as an example in the secret meetings of the conspirators¹.

The active co-operation of France was an essential element in the chances of success. From France, however, it became suddenly uncertain whether assistance was to be looked for. The English mediation in the European war had failed, because, after Mary's disappointment, France refused to part with Savoy, and the Emperor could not bring himself to make a peace where the sacrifices would be wholly on his own side. But the negotiations between the principals were never wholly let fall, the Emperor had now resigned Philip, with an embarrassed treasury, with his eye on the English crown, and with trouble threatening him from the Turks, was anxious to escape from the exhausting con-

¹ John Throgmorton said to Bede¹, Derrick, and me, on this wise: 'Whatsoever becomes of any of us in this dangerous enterprise we will here promise, that albeit, I, you, and your namye, every of us, by nime, should accuse any of us of this, or any part touching this enterprise, bye and bye to revile him with most cunning and naughty rebukes that may be devised. And thereby setting a stern countenance, and for our couraging and better comfort herein, he shewed us of a matter that was most true, and accused by Strangways against two brethren, meaning [the] Tremaines,

who being but little men in personage, so reviled Strangways, accusing them before your honours, that because Strangways had no further proof but his only saying, and they so stoutly denying it, even to the threatening of the rack (or whether they were anything thereto constrained or no, as he said, I do not perfectly remember), but at length Strangways was in effect ready to weep, and think he had accused them wrongfully, and so they dismissed, and Strangways much of your honours rebuked' — Thomas White to the Council *MS Mary, Domestico*, vol vii

flict; and at the beginning of February a truce for five years was concluded at Vaucelles, by which Henry was left in undisturbed possession of all his conquests.

Terms so advantageous to the Court of France could not be rejected; but past experience forbade, nevertheless, any very sanguine hope that the truce would last out its term. Unquestionably, in the opinion of the French King, it would be broken without scruple could Philip obtain the active help of England; and Henry would not, therefore, relinquish his correspondence with the conspirators. He instructed Noailles only to keep them quiet for the present till Philip's intentions should be revealed more clearly.¹

The 'young heads,' of whom Horsey had spoken to Daniel, were not, however, men whom it was easy to keep quiet. Noailles replied, that they were so anxious to make an effort for liberty, and felt so certain of success, that he found great difficulty in restraining them, if the King of France would give them some slight assistance at the outset,² they undertook to do the rest themselves.

Dudley, therefore, remained in France, whither he was followed by Ashton and Horsey, and Henry admitted them to a midnight audience. He said that, for the moment, he could not act with them openly; but he would throw no difficulty in their way, if they were as strong as they professed to be (and they said that members of the privy council were in the confederacy), he

¹ The Constable to Noailles, Feb. 7 *Ambassades*, vol. v.

² De leur prêter un peu d'espaule.

would have them go forward with their project, and if he found Philip³ occupied, as he expected that he would be with the Turks in Hungary, he would assist them with men, money, and other things. Meanwhile, he gave Dudley 1500 crowns, distributed considerable sums among his companions, and advised them to go, as Carew had done before, to the coast of Normandy, and keep up their communications with their friends.

The interview and the promises of Henry were betrayed to Wotton, and by him reported in cypher to Mary;¹ but the fear of treachery of one of the party had already placed the Government in possession of information, as the first step was about to be taken. Fifty thousand pounds were in the Treasury to embarrass the Count, and to provide the insurrection with funds, a party of four or five—Rosey, keeper of the Star Chamber, Heneage, an officer of the Chapel Royal, a man named Derick, and one or two others—were chosen to carry off the money. Before the enterprise could be undertaken, Thomas White—perhaps one of the five, in alarm at the danger—communicated with the council; and on the 18th of March, Throgmorton, Peckham, Daniel, Rosey, and twelve or fourteen others, were seized suddenly, and sent to the Tower. Dudley was traced to Southampton, he was himself beyond pursuit, but Uvedale was discovered, and brought to London; Kingston was sent for, but died on his way up from Wales, probably by his own hand, in despair.

¹ Wotton to the Queen. *French MSS*, bundle 13

Information was, of course, the great object of the Court; and they would shrink from nothing which would enable them to extort confessions. The prisoners knew what was before them, and prepared themselves according to their courage.

Throgmorton, when locked into the room which was allotted to him in the Tower, found that Derick was in the chamber underneath. He loosened a board in the floor, and 'required him that, in any case, he should not be the destruction of others besides himself;' 'for look,' Throgmorton said, 'how many thou dost accuse, so many thou dost wilfully murder'

Derick, it seems, was already thinking whether he could not, perhaps, save his own life. None of the party as yet knew how much of their secret had been discovered, or the value, therefore, which the Government would place upon a full confession.

'He would do nothing,' Derick answered, 'but that which God had appointed; and if God would that he should do it, there was no remedy'

When a man has made up his mind that it is God's will that he should be a rogue, he has small chance of recovering himself. Throgmorton tried to reason him into manliness, and thought he had succeeded. Derick even promised to 'abide the torture, whereupon Master Throgmorton did sup his porridge to him, in token of his truth' But the torture was used or threatened, and Derick did not 'abide' it; promises of pardon were also used which the prisoners

knew to mean nothing, and yet were worked on by them ¹

Derick turned approver, so did Roscy, so did Bedyll. Uvedale, who was ill and feeble,² yielded to the rack; and, piece by piece, the whole conspiracy was drawn out. The investigation was committed exclusively to the Queen's clique, Rochester, Englefield, Waldegrave, Jerningham, and Hastings. The rest of the council refused to meddle,³ for reasons which, perhaps, the Queen hoped to learn from one or other of the prisoners. Throgmorton, however, who could tell the most, would tell nothing, though the rack was used freely to open his lips. How much he suffered may be gathered from a few words which he used to a Mr Walpole, who was one of his examiners.

'Tell me, I pray you, Mr Walpole,' he said, 'if the council may rack me, or put me to torment, after the time I am condemned, or no?'

'They may,' Walpole answered, 'if it shall please them'

'Then,' said Throgmorton, 'I fear I shall be put to it again, and, I will assure you, it is terrible pain.'³

When torture would not answer, promises were tried, and promises apparently of an emphatic kind. April

¹ Although they be promised by you means to move the Queen's Majesty to be gracious lady to them, they know that it is not so meant, but to suck out of others all ye may, and yet thereby to have no mercy showed — Thomas White to the Council *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol vii

² Robert Swift to Lord Shrewsbury *Longe's Illustrations*, vol. 1.

³ Walpole's Deposition *MS Longe's Illustrations*, vol. viii.

'I pray you, pray for me,' Throgmorton said to his brother prisoners; 'for I shall not be long with you. I cannot live without¹ I should be the death of a number of gentlemen, and therewithal the said Throgmorton recited a story of the Romans, commending much an old man that was taken prisoner by the enemy, whom the Romans would have redeemed with a great number of young men, which would have been much more worth to the Romans, but this old man would in no case agree thereto, but received his death at the enemies' hand very patiently, considering his old years, and also what profit these young men should be to the Romans'²

The inquiry lasted till June, and much was learnt from those who had not Throgmorton's courage. Matters came out implicating Lord Bray and Lord Delaware. Lord Bray was arrested and examined, Lord Delaware was tried and found guilty. But they were powerful, and had powerful friends². The Court were forced to content themselves with smaller game. Successive batches of the conspirators were despatched, as their confessions were exhausted or despaired of. Throgmorton, silent to the last, was sentenced on the 21st of April, and suffered on the 28th. On the 19th of May, Captain Stanton was hanged; on the 2nd of June, Derick followed—his cowardice had not saved him—with Rosey and Bedyll. On the 7th of July, Sir Henry Peckham was disposed of, and with him John

¹ Peckham's Confession. *MS Ibid*, vol. viii.

² Swift to Lord Shrewsbury. *Ibid*, vol. i, *MACHYN'S Diary*.

Daniel, who was guilty, if not of worse, yet of having concealed machinations dangerous to the State¹

But the danger did not pass off with the execution of a few youths. An inveterate conviction had taken hold of men of all ranks, that Philip was coming over with an army to destroy English liberty. May Paget went to Flanders to entreat him to come back unattended, to dispel the alarm by his presence, and to comfort the Queen; but Paget returned

¹ Daniel was supposed, like Throgmorton, to know more than he had told, and to quicken his confession he was confined in a dungeon of which he has left his own description in an appeal to the mercy of the commissioners. 'I beseech your honours be good to me,' he wrote, 'for I am a sick man, and here in a dungeon where I am I am to do — and — in the place that I do lie in, and if I do lie here all this night, I think I shall not be alive to-morrow. Mr Limfield [perhaps an examiner] as he cometh to me is ready to cast his gorge, so he saith, and I have no light all day so much as to see my hands perfectly. Pity me, for God's sake! — Your honours' foot-stool, John Daniel. Good Master of the Horse, good Mr Controller, good Mr Vice-Chamberlain, good Mr Eaglefield, good Mr Wildegrave.'

Again, in another letter, he writes —

'For God's sake, be my honourable masters, and rid me out of this

dungeon, for I do lie here a man sore pained with the stone, and among the newts and spiders. For the love of God, I ask it, for I do all things in the place that I do lie in. My good and honourable masters, for God's sake, be good to me, and consider that I did never give my consent to do no evil. Good Mr Eaglefield, consider my meaning, and be good master to me, and consider the place I lie in, and the pain of the stone.'—Daniel's Confessions. *MS. May, Dom. Hist.*, vol. viii.

The effect, however, apparently was what the examiners desired. A note of the council remains to the effect that—

'Daniel being yesterday removed, to a worse lodging, beginning this day to be more open and plain than he hath been, whereby we perceive he knoweth all, and we trust and think verily he will utter the same.'—Privy Council Minutes. *Ibid*

with a letter instead of Philip; and the poor Queen looked ten years older on the receipt of it. She durst not stir abroad to face the execrations with which the people now received her. She passed her time in frenzied extremities of passion, 'because' she could neither enjoy the presence of her husband, nor the affection of her subjects; and dreading every moment that her life might be attempted by her own attendants.¹ A fleet was fitted out in the Channel. A bishop in the Queen's confidence was asked the reason by another bishop. 'To overawe rebels,' was the answer, 'and to carry off Elizabeth into Flanders or Spain.'² The Government was conducted entirely by the legate and the small knot of Catholic fanatics who had adhered to the Queen's fortunes in the late reign. Lord William Howard told Noailles that he and the other lords lived in perpetual dread and suspicion; if his honour would allow him, he would throw up his office, and retire, with those who had gone before him, as a poor gentleman, to France.

The general suffering was aggravated by a likelihood of famine. The harvest of 1555 had failed, and bread, with all other articles of food, was daily rising. The conspiracy exasperated the persecution, which was degenerating into wholesale atrocity. On the 23rd of April, six men were burnt at Smithfield; on the 28th,

¹ *Estant en continuel fureur de ne pouvoir jouir de la présence de son mary ny de l'amour de son peuple, et dans une fort grande peur d'estre offensée de sa propre* vie par auleungs desiens Noailles to the King of France, May 7. *Instructions*, vol. v.

² Same to Montmorency, April 21. *Ibid.*

six more were burnt at Colchester, on the 15th of May, an old lame man and a blind man were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow. In the same month three women suffered at Smithfield, and a blind boy was burnt at Gloucester. In Guernsey, a mother and her two daughters were brought to the stake. One of the latter, a married woman with child, was delivered in the midst of her torments, and the infant just rescued was tossed back into the flames.¹ Reason, humanity, even common prudence, were cast to the winds. On the 27th of June, thirteen unfortunates, eleven men and two women, were destroyed together at Stratford-le-Bow, in the presence of twenty thousand people.² A schoolmaster, in Norfolk, in July read an inflammatory proclamation in a church. He and three others were instantly hanged. Persecution in the Government and lawlessness in the people went hand in hand. Along the river bank stood rows of gibbets, with bodies of pirates swinging from them in the wind. In the autumn, sixty men were sentenced to be hanged together, for what crime is unknown, at Oxford, and as a symbol at head-quarters of the system of the administration, four corpses of thieves hung as a spectacle of terror before the very gates of St James's Palace.⁴

On the 20th of August, twenty-three men and women were brought to London from Colchester, tied

¹ Fox. This hideous story was told and the account was found too certainly true challenged by Hume, the controversialist, in the next reign. He was unfortunate in calling attention to it, for the case was inquired into,

² MACHIN'S *Diary*

³ MACHIN

⁴ *Ibid.*

in a string with ropes to furnish another holocaust. A thousand people cheered them through the streets as they entered the city; and the symptoms of disorder were so significant and threatening, that Bonner wrote to Pole for instructions how he should proceed. The Government was alarmed; 'the council, not without good consideration,' decided that it would be dangerous to go on with the executions; and Pole, checking Bonner's zeal, allowed the prisoners to escape for the time, under an easy form of submission which they could conscientiously make. They were dismissed to their homes, however, only for several of them to be slaughtered afterwards, under fresh prettexts, in detail;¹ and Pole took an occasion, as will be presently seen, of reprimanding the citizens of London for their unnatural sympathy with God's enemies. That he had no objection to these large massacres, when they could be ventured safely, he showed himself in the following year, when fourteen heretics, of both sexes, were burnt in two days at Canterbury and Maidstone.²

Why, it may well be asked, did not the lords and gentlemen of England rise and trample down the perpetrators of these devilish enormities? It is a grave question, to which, nevertheless, some tolerable answer is possible.

On the 21st of January, 1557, the English ambassador in Paris wrote in cypher to Sir William Petre, of 'a matter' which he desired should not be commun-

¹ See their stories. FOXE, vol. viii.

² FOXE, vol. viii.

icated to the Queen, 'lest it should disquiet her.' A refugee had informed him, 'that there was a great conspiracy in hand against the Queen, which without doubt would deprive her of her estate' He had asked for names, but these his informant would not give, saying merely, 'the best of England were in it,' and 'such a number agreed thereupon, that it was impossible but that it would take effect.' There was no chance of discovery, 'the matter had been in hand for a year or thereabout,' yet no one 'had uttered a word of it.' should it become known, the conspirators were so strong that the catastrophe would only be precipitated. They would have moved already, 'but for one man who had stayed them for a while'

Entreaties for more explicitness were fruitless. 'By no means,' wrote Wotton, 'would he name any man unto me, but only said that the chiefest of them were such as had never offended the Queen's Highness before, that the matter should begin in the evening, and the next day by eight in the morning it should be done.'

The Queen was not to be killed, at least, not immediately. 'They will not kill her,' the informer said, 'but deprive her of her estate, and then might she chance to be used as she used Queen Jane,' and he added, '*that they who went about the matter would not agree that any foreign prince should have any meddling in it, neither Dudley nor any of the English gentlemen in France were privy to the matter*'¹

¹ Wotton to Petre, cypher *French MSS., Mary*, bundle 13 State Paper Office

That any such combination as this letter described, ever really menaced Mary's throne, cannot be affirmed with certainty. The last two sentences, however, point to the difficulty which had embarrassed all attempts which had been hitherto ventured. The vice of the previous conspiracies had been the intrigues with France. The better order of English statesmen refused to connect themselves with movements which would give the Court of Paris a dangerous influence in England, and would entitle the French King to press the claims of the Queen of Scots upon the English crown. If there was truth in the refugee's story, if there really was a conspiracy of 'the best of England,' clear of all such mischievous elements, it must have consisted of the body of the nobility, whom Lord William Howard described to Noailles as equally dissatisfied with himself. The heresy Acts had been restored by the help of the bishops against the sustained opposition of the majority of the lay peers. For the hundred and fifty years during which those Acts had been upon the Statute Book, they had expressed the general feeling of the country, yet during all that time fewer persons had suffered under

May them than had been sacrificed during the last twelve months. Having failed to destroy her sister, having been unable to alter the succession, the Queen was desperate; the Spaniards were watching their opportunity to interfere by force, and would want no encouragement which she could give them; and every honest English statesman must have watched her with the most jealous distrust. Yet, on the other hand, she

was childless, her life must necessarily soon close by the course of nature, and with her life the tyranny would end. If force was attempted she would not fall without a struggle; the clergy would stand by her, and all whom the clergy could influence. Philip would have the pretext, for which he was longing, for sending Spanish troops, and though liberty might and would prevail in the end, thousands of lives might be sacrificed, and Elizabeth's succession would be stained. The appeal to strength was, and is, the last to which good men will allow themselves to be driven. The Lords understood one another: they would not be the first to commence, but if an attempt were made to carry off Elizabeth, or to throw on land a single Spanish battalion, they would know how to act.

Meantime, Dudley, Ashton, Horsey, the brothers Tremayne, and divers others, were safe in France, and were hospitably entertained there. In England they were proclaimed traitors. At Paris they were received openly at Court. The Queen wrote to Wotton with her own hand, commanding him to demand their surrender.¹ She sent for Noailles, and required that 'those wretches, those heretics, those traitorous execrable villains, who had conspired against her throne, should be placed in her hand.'² Henry, with unembarrassed coolness, promised Wotton that they should be apprehended, while he furnished them with ships, which they openly fitted

¹ The Queen to Wotton. *MS* | et traitres villains et execrables —
France, bundle 13 | Noailles to the King, May 7. *Ann-*

² *Gens abominables, hérétiques* | *basoche*, vol. v

for sea at the mouth of the Seine, and one of their number, Henry Killigrew, went to Italy to look for Courtenay, who was in honourable exile there, to entreat him to put himself at their head. Courtenay promised to come, so Killigrew reported on his return, 'his name would have given them strength, his presence weakness; but if he really thought again of mixing himself in conspiracies, his intentions were frustrated. The last direct heir of the noblest family in England died at the end of the summer, of an ague caught among the lagoons at Venice.²

¹ Wotton to Petre, cypher French MSS. State Paper Office, bundle 13

² His death was of course attributed by the world to poison Courtenay's birth, and the fortune which was so nearly thrust upon him, gave his fate a kind of interest, and an authentic account of it may not be unwelcome

On the 18th of September, Peter Vannes, the English resident at Venice, wrote to the Queen from Padua —

'It hath pleased Almighty God, as the Author of all goodness, and as One that doth nothing in vain, to call the Earl of Devonshire to his mercy, even about the hour, or little more or less, that I am writing of this present, and being very sorry to trouble your Highness with this kind of news, yet forasmuch as the providence of God must be fulfilled in all things, I shall somewhat touch his sickness till the hour of death

True it is that he, as I have perceived, for the avoiding all suspicion from himself, hath chosen a life more solitary than needed, saving the company of certain gentlemen, Venetians, among whom he was much made of. It chanced him upon three weeks ago, for his honest recreation, to go to a place called Iao, a piece of an island five miles from Venice, for to see his hawks fly upon a waded ground, without any houses, and there he was suddenly taken with a great tempest of wind and rain, inasmuch that his boat, called [a] gondola, could not well return to Venice and he was fain, for his succour, to take a certain searcher's boat that by chance there arrived, and so to Venice he came, being body and legs very thinly clothed, refusing to change them with any warmer garment. And upon that time, or within few days after, as he told me, had a fall upon the stairs of his

The refugees, however, could do their work without Courtenay. The Killegrews, the Themaynes, young

house, and after seeming to himself to be well, and finding no pain, took his journey hither unto Padua, and for the avoiding of the weariness of the water, and the labouring of horses, chose the worse way coming, and so by certain waggones called coaches, very shaking and uneasy to my judgment, came to Padua upon Saturday at night. Of whose coming being advertised, I went to visit him on the morrow after, and found him very weak, and since that time he began to appeare every day worse and worse, avoiding friends' visitations, and drew himself to the counsel of two of the best physicians of the town, and entered into a continued hot ague, sometimes more vehement than at another, and as I have seen and heard, he hath been always diligently attended. I have charged his servants in your name, and as they will avoid your displeasure, that a true inventory shall be made of such small movables as he had here, and that specially all kind of writings and letters that he had either here or at Venice, shall be put in assurance, abiding for your commandment. I am now about to see the order of his buriall, with as much sparing and as much honour as can be done, for the merchantmen on whom, by your Grace's commandment, he had a credit of 3 or 4 thousand crowns, are not as yet willing to disburse any money without

a sufficient discharge of my Lord of Devonshire's hand, the doing whereof is past. I shall strive to see him buried as well as I can, notwithstanding, I beseech your Grace not to be discontented with me that I am at the next door to go a begging.

'My said Lord of Devonshire is dead, in mine opinion a very good Christian man, for after that I had much exhorted him to take his communion and rites of the Church as a thing most necessary, and by whose means God giveth unto His chosen people health, both bodily and ghostly, he answered me, by broken words, that he was well content so to do, and in token thereof, and in repentance for his sins, he lift up his eyes and knocked himself upon the heart, and after I had suffered him to pause a good while, I caused the Sacrament to be brought, and after the priest's godly exhortation, he forced himself to receive the blessed Communion, but his tongue had so stopped his mouth, and his teeth so clove together, that in no wise he could receive that same, and after this sort this gentleman is gone, as I do not doubt, to God his mercy.

'I shall not let to say to your Grace, that since his coming to Padua, by way of communion, he showed unto me, that it had been reported unto him that some one had said that he was better French than English, and if God did recover

Stafford, and many more, put to sea with three or four vessels, and treated all Spaniards with whom they could fall in as their natural enemies. Before the summer was out, they had 'taken divers good prizes,' and 'did trust they should take more.' 'In case the worst fell,

the gain thereof would find them all;' and on

the 4th of August it was reported that they had taken a fort 'on one of her Majesty's islands,' probably in Scilly, where the dangerous and intricate navigation placed them beyond risk of capture. Making war on their own account, half as pirates, half as crusaders, these youthful adventurers seized the Spanish caracks on their way to Flanders, sailed openly with their prizes into Rochelle or La Hogue, sold them, and bought arms and ammunition. Their finances were soon prosperous. Wild spirits of all nations—Scots, English, French, whoever chose to offer—found service under their flag. They were the first specimens of the buccancering chivalry of the next generation—the germ out of which rose the Drakes, the Raleighs, the Hawkinses, who harried the conquerors of the New World.

In vain Wotton protested. The French King affected to be sorry. The Constable said that France was large; things happened which ought not to happen,

him and send him his health so that he might come to the knowledge of his misreporter, he was minded to try that quarrel by the sword'

In a letter written a few days later, Vannes said that, in consequence of rumours having gone

abroad that the Earl had been poisoned, the Podesta, at his request, had ordered the body to be opened, and examined by physicians, which was accordingly done—Peter Vannes to the Queen *Venetian MSS*
State Paper Office.

yet could not be helped; the adventurers should be put down, if possible.

'These men brought nothing with them out of England,' Wotton doggedly replied, 'and were in such good credit with the people in France that nobody would lend them a shilling, and yet had they found ships which they had armed, and manned with good numbers of soldiers. What would the Queen's Highness think?'

The French Court, in affected deference to such complaints, armed vessels, which they pretended were to pursue the privateers to their nest, but, as Wotton ascertained, they were intended really to act as their consorts.¹

It was plain that the French King did not anticipate any long continuance to the truce of Vaucelles. In fact, Paul IV., whose schemes in Italy that truce had arrested, had succeeded in inducing him to break it. Lest his oath should make a difficulty, the Pope had an ever-ready dispensation, and Paul's nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, came to Paris in July to make arrangements for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Naples.²

To insure Henry the continued support of the Papacy, Paul undertook to create French cardinals on so large a scale as would give him the command of the next election. Henry, in spite of the entreaties of Montmorency, promised, on his side, to send an army to Paul's support, and the Pope, without waiting for the

¹ Letters of Wotton to the Queen. *French MSS.*, bundle 13, State Paper Office.

² Wotton to Petre. *MS. Ital.* Compare Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 38.

arrival of the French troops, seized the Duchy of Paleano, and excommunicated the Colonnas, as the friends of the enemies of the Holy See. Scarcely caring to look for a pretext, he declared the Spanish Prince deprived of the kingdom of Naples; and himself attempted to put in force his sentence against the Duke of Alva, who was acting there as Philip's viceroy.

The event had thus actually arrived, of which the expectation the year before had appeared so alarming. The most orthodox sovereign in Europe found himself forced into war with his spiritual father. The parent was become insane; the faithful child was obliged, in consequence, to place him under restraint, with as much tenderness and respect as the circumstances permitted. To the English council Philip explained the hard necessity under which he was placed ¹

¹ Pontifex, tantum abest ut mollioribus obsequiis atque officiis acquieverit, non potuit tandem sibi obtemperare quin pleno Cardinalium Senatu Regni Neapolitanæ privationem per suum fiscalem proponerit, cum nullius nos in ipsum Pontificem, aut sedem apostolicam contumacia, summa quin potius uti fas est observantia nobis simul consensu, ac ne in præfata quidem ejus obstinatione a solitis officiis destitutum est, donec cum nullâ molliore ope malum posset mitigari, magisque indies ac magis propagaretur videretque Albæ Dux copias eum undique contrahere, apparatus facere, tempus ducere, quoscumque principes quibuscumque conditioni-

bus sollicitæ, ut ingruenti rerum omnium rumæ occurreret, ad hoc extremum remedium invitatus coactusque descendit. Quæ omnia quamquam vobis comperta quando in eorum mentionem per vestras litteras meridistis, per nos etiam vobis significanda duximus, atque id præterea eâ temperantiâ ac modestiâ hoc bellum a duce geri atque administrari, ut nihil nisi orbis Christiani tranquillitas, sedis apostolicæ dignitas, et nostrorum regnorum securitas procuraretur, neque ullum nos ex hoc bello gloriæ aucupemur, summum potius dolorem animique angustudinem percipimus. — Philip to the English Council. *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office.

The Duke of Alva crossed the Neapolitan frontier into the States of the Church with ^{September} twelve thousand men, taking the towns that lay in his way, and protesting while he did it that he was the most faithful servant of the Holy See. Individually a pious Catholic, officially a military machine, Alva obeyed orders with mechanical inflexibility, and, irresistible as destiny, advanced towards Rome. The College of Cardinals, who remembered the occupation of the city by Bourbon's army, implored the Pope to have pity on them. The Pope had been too precipitate in commencing operations without waiting for the French. He was forced to submit his pride, and sue for an armistice, to which Alva, in the moderation of conscious strength, consented.

The French, on the other hand, were preparing to strike a blow in a quarter where as yet they were unlooked for.

The pastoral anxieties of the English legate had extended to Calais, where the Protestants were in considerable numbers. A commission was sent thither which proceeded with the usual severities,¹ and the sufferers, or those among the garrisons in Calais and Guisnes whose sympathy with the Reformation was stronger than their patriotism, placed their elves in correspondence with Sir Henry Dudley, at Paris. The

¹ 'There is a faction or dissension within Calais for religion's sake, whereof it seemeth that a commission of late sent thither, I cannot tell whether somewhat rigor-

ously used, may have given occasion' — Wotton to the Queen, cypher *French MSS.*, bundle 13, State Paper Office

pay of the troops was long in arrear, and they were all mutinous and discontented. Neither Guisnes, Hammes, nor Calais itself were provisioned for more than three or four weeks, and the refugees, caring only to revenge themselves on Mary, were laying a train in 'connection with several of the 'chiefest officers' in the three fortresses, to betray them into the hands of France. The existence of a conspiracy became known by accident to some one, who placed Wotton on his guard, and Wotton, by vigilance and by the help of spies, ascertained gradually the nature of the scheme. In the
 October beginning of October he discovered that Senarpont, the governor of Boulogne, was silently increasing the garrison of the Boulloinois. Then he heard of troops collecting at Rouen, of large preparations of military stores, of sappers' and miners' tools, and 'great files, which would cut in two without noise the largest [harbour] chains.'¹ Next, it seemed that the leader of the adventurous party, which fourteen years before 'took the town of Marano by practise and subtlety,' was in Calais in disguise. Finally, he learnt that Henry himself was going to Rouen, to conduct the enterprise in person.

The disaffection had penetrated so deeply into the English garrisons that caution was required in dealing with them; while for some weeks either the Queen disbelieved the danger, or the council took no steps to obviate it. The Catholic clique had, in fact, not a

¹ Wotton to the Queen, cypher. *French MSS*, bundle 13, State Paper Office

soldier among them, and possibly knew not in which direction to turn. The honour of his country at last recalled Lord Pembroke to the public service in time to save Calais for a few more months.

By the middle of November eighteen on-^{November.} signs of French infantry and a thousand horse were at Abbeville. Dudley, with the refugee fleet, was in readiness to blockade the harbour, while Henry was to march upon the town. If possible, he would find the gates open at all events he would meet with no protracted resistance. But the move had been anticipated. Reinforcements and supplies were sent from England, money was despatched to pay up the arrears of the troops, and Pembroke himself went over in command.¹ No open inquiry was ventured, but the suspected persons were quietly removed. The French withdrew, and the Queen's Government, through the bad patriotism of the refugees, recovered a momentary strength.

The faint good fortune came opportunely, for in England the harvest had again failed, and the threat of famine had become the reality. On the 23rd of December malt was sold in London for forty shillings a quarter, and white flour at six shillings a bushel. The helpless remedy was attempted of crying up the base money, but the markets answered only by a further rise.² In the utter misery of the people, some were feeding upon acorns, some, in London, more piteously, left their

¹ The Council to Philip, November 22nd *MS Domestic, Mary*, vol. ix.

² *MACHIN*

infant children at the doors of their wealthy neighbours, to save them from starvation.

A famine was considered to be the immediate work of Heaven, and to be sent for an immediate moral cause. And yet the monasteries were rising from their ruins. Westminster was again an abbey. Feckenham was installed abbot on the 29th of November, with the ancient ceremonies, and walked in sad procession round the cloisters at the head of his friars¹. The remnant of the monks of Glastonbury had crawled back into the ruins of their home. The Queen had spared no effort and no sacrifice where her own power extended; and she had exhorted and advised where she was unable to act. Yet enough had not been done. In Ireland, indeed, the Catholic spirit had life in it. The Earl of Desmond had allowed no stone to be thrown down from the religious houses which had fallen to his share in the distribution. He had sheltered and supported the monks in the bad times, he now replaced them at his private cost,² and the example was telling among the chiefs. But in England, unfortunately, the lay owners of the Church lands, orthodox and unorthodox alike, were hopelessly impenitent.

¹ The new monks did not do credit to their restoration. Anne of Cleves died the next year, and lay in state in the abbey.

'The 22nd of August,' says Machyn, 'was the house of my Lady Anne of Cleves taken down at Westminster, the which the monks

by night had spoiled of all velvet cloth, arms, banners, pennesles, of all the majesty and valence, the which was never seen afore so done.' — *Dial y*, p. 148.

² Desmond to the Queen, *Dish MSS* State Paper Office.

This, perhaps, was one cause of God's displeasure—the heretics were another; the heretics, and the sympathy with heresy displayed by the inhabitants of London, which had compelled the temporary release of the prisoners sent up from Essex.

It has been mentioned that the legate took occasion to admonish the citizens for their behaviour. In the present or the following year¹ he issued a pastoral letter, laying before them, and before ^{December} the educated inhabitants of England generally, their duty at the present crisis, with an explanation, not entirely accurate, of the spirit in which the Church had hitherto dealt with them. 'That by license and dispensation,' he said, 'you do enjoy, and keep, and possess such goods and lands of the Church as were found in your hands, this was done of the Church your mother's tenderness unto you, considering your unbecomly and weakness after so sore a sickness that you had in the schism, at the which time your appetite served you to no meat, but to that fruit that came from the lands of the Church, and by that you lived, which she was content you should keep still, and made promise it should not be taken from you. And so it was left in your hand, as it were an apple in a child's hand given by the mother, which she, perceiving him to feed too much of, and knowing it should do him hurt, if he con-

¹ 'Three years and more after the restoration of the people to the Church,' the legate says in the body of the letter. The date of it will be December, 1556, or December 1557, as the three years are calculated from the restoration of Orthodoxy, or from the reunion with Rome.

self should eat the whole, would have him give her a little piece thereof, which the boy refusing, and whereas he would cry out if she would take it from him, letteth him alone therewith. But the father, her husband, coming in, if he shall see how the boy will not let go one morsel to the mother that hath given him the whole, she asking it with so fair means, he may peradventure take the apple out of the boy's hand, and if he cry, beat him also, and cast the apple out of the window'

The maternal tenderness, under this aspect of the secularization, had been rather imbecile than wise.

'As the English laity had dishonoured the ministers of the Church above all people,' continued the legate, 'so must they now honour them above all people, remembering Christ's words—'He that despiseth you despiseth Me' They must obey the priests, therefore, implicitly; they must be careful to pay their tithes honestly; what they denied their priests they denied their God; and they must show their repentance especially where they had especially offended, 'touching the injuries they had done to the ministers of God, whom God had set over them, to be honoured as they would their natural father.'

'And this,' he said, coming to the heart of the matter, 'this you cannot do if you favour heretics, who being the very enemies of God and man, yet specially their enmity extendeth against priests. Here is another point that you must show worthy of a repentant mind—that whereas you have sore offended God by giving

favour to heretics, now temper your favour under such manner that if you can convert them by any ways unto the unity of the Church, then do it, for it is a great work of mercy. But if ye cannot, and ye suffer or favour them, there cannot be a work of greater cruelty against the commonwealth than to nourish or favour any such. *For be you assured, there is no kind of men so pernicious to the commonwealth as they be, there are no thieves, no murderers, no adulterers, nor no kind of treason, to be compared to theirs, who, as it were, undermining the chief foundation of all commonwealths, which is religion, maketh an entry to all kinds of vices in the most heinous manner*. . . 'You specially of the City of London, you being the first that received the fruit of grace in the new plantation, the seed of benediction being first cast upon you, to make you a ground to bring forth all fruit of sanctity and justice, . . . shall I say, that after all this done, more briars and thorns hath grown here among you than in all the realm besides? I cannot say so, nor I will not, albeit it might so seem, for a greater multitude of these briambles and briars were cast in the fire here among you than in any place besides, but many of them being grown in other places, and brought in and burned among you, may give occasion that you have a worse name without your desert. The thing standeth not in the name—bethink you yourselves how it standeth Wherefore cometh this, that when any heretic shall go to execution, he shall lack no comforting of you, and encouraging to die in his perverse opinion? that when he shall be put in

prison he shall have more cherishing? As it is now, this may not be suffered. . . . 'For their boldness in their death, it is small argument of grace to be in them; Christ himself showing more heaviness and dolour at his dying hour than did the thieves that hung beside him, which did blaspheme Christ, setting nought by him, specially one of them, showing no further fear. So do the heretics at their deaths like the blasphemer.'¹

Cruel and savage as the persecution had become, it was still inadequate. The famine lasted, and therefore God was angry.

The new year opened with the appointment of a commission, consisting of Bonner, Thurlby, and twenty other peers, gentlemen, and canon lawyers, on whom the Court could rely. 'Wicked persons' had invented slanders against the Queen's person, and had sown 'pestilent heresies' in the realm. The Queen, therefore, 'minding to punish such enormities,' and having especial trust in the wisdom of these persons, gave them power to institute inquiries at their pleasure into the conduct and opinions of every man and woman in all parts of the kingdom. The protection of the law was suspended. The commissioners might arrest any person at any place. Three of them were enough to form a court; and mayors, sheriffs, and magistrates were commanded to assist at their peril.

The object of the commission was 'to search and find out' the sellers of heretical books, or those who in

¹ Address of Cardinal Pole to the Citizens of London. STYFFE'S Memorials, vol. vi.

any way professed heresy or taught it; to ascertain who refused to attend mass, to walk in procession, to use holy water, or in any way betrayed disrespect for the established religion. Those who 'persisted in their bad opinions' were to be given up to their ordinary, to be punished according to law. The commissioners were themselves empowered to punish with fine or imprisonment those who yielded, or those whose offences were in the second degree, taking care to collect the fines which they inflicted, and to certify the Exchequer of their receipts. They were not embarrassed by a necessity of impanelling juries, they might call juries if they pleased, they might use 'all other means and politic ways that they could devise'. No Spanish inquisition possessed larger or less tolerable powers, no English sovereign ever more entirely set aside the restrictions of the law.¹ The appointment of the commission was followed up by Pole in a visitation of the diocese of Canterbury. Persons were nominated to examine into the doctrines of the clergy; to learn whether those who had been married held communion with their wives, whether the names of those who had not been reconciled had been registered as he had ordered; and from every clergyman to ascertain the habits, beliefs, and opinions of every resident, male or female, in his parish.²

Other commissioners again were sent to the Uni-

¹ Royal Commission printed in FOXE, vol. viii p. 301, and by BURNET in his *Collectanea*.

² Articles of the Visitation of Cardinal Pole. FOXE, vol. iii.

versities, with powers extending, not over the living only, but the dead.

1557
January. Scot, Bishop of Chester, Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and Christopherson, Master of Trinity and Bishop of Chichester, went in January to Cambridge, accompanied by Ormaneto, the Venetian, a confidential friend of the legate Bucer and Fagius slept in St Mary's and St Michael's. The 10th of January, the day after the Bishop's arrival, the two churches were laid under an interdict, as defiled with the presence of unhallowed bodies. On the 15th a summons was fixed to St Mary's door, citing Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, or any other who would plead on their behalf, to make answer three days after, before the commission, on a charge of heresy. The Court sat, and no one appeared. The session was adjourned for a week, while the colleges were searched, and Primers, Prayer-books, Bibles, or other interdicted volumes, were hunted out and brought together. On the 26th the Bishops met again, the accused remained undefended, and the heresy was taken to be proved, sentence was passed therefore, that the bodies should be disinterred and burnt. On the 6th of February the coffins
February. were taken out of the graves, and chained to a stake in the market-place; the Bibles and Prayer-books were heaped round them with a pile of faggots, and books and bodies were reduced to ashes.

Having purged Cambridge, Ormaneto proceeded to Oxford, on business of the same description.

Peter Martyr, when he came into residence as

divinity professor at Christ Church, had outraged the orthodox party in the University by bringing a wife within the college walls, and Catherine Cathie, so the wife was named, had, like the wife of Luther, been a professed nun. She had died before Mary's accession, and had been buried in the cathedral. A process was now instituted against her similar to that at Cambridge.

An unforeseen difficulty occurred in the conduct of the prosecution. Catherine Cathie had lived quietly and unobtrusively, she had taught nothing and had written no books, and no evidence could be found to justify her conviction on a charge of heresy.

Ormaneto wrote to the legate for instructions; and as burning was not permissible, the legate replied that, 'forasmuch as Catherine Cathie, of detestable memory, had called herself the wife of Peter Martyr, a heretic, although both he and she had before taken vows of religion, forasmuch as she had lived with him in Oxford in fornication, and after her death was buried near the sepulchre of the Holy Virgin St Frideswide, Ormaneto should invite the Dean of the Cathedral to cast out the carcase from holy ground, and deal with it according to his discretion.'

Catherine Cathie, therefore, was dug up, taken out of her coffin, and flung into a cesspool at the back of the Dean's house, and it was hoped that by this means the blessed St Frideswide would be able to rest again in peace. Human foresight is imperfect, years passed and times changed; and Elizabeth, when she had the power to command, directed that the body should be restored

to decent burial. The fragments were recovered with difficulty, and were about to be replaced in the earth under the floor of the cathedral, when some one produced the sacred box which contained the remains of St Frideswide. Made accessible to the veneration of the faithful by Cardinal Pole, the relics had been concealed on the return of heresy by some pious worshipper. They were brought out at the critical moment, and an instant sense of the fitness of things consigned to the same resting-place the bones of the wife of Peter Martyr. The married nun and the virgin saint were buried together, and the dust of the two still remains under the pavement inextricably blended.¹

But Pole did not live to see the retribution. Convinced, if ever there was a sincere conviction in any man, that the course which he was pursuing was precisely that which God required of him, he laboured on in his dark vocation. Through the spring and summer the persecution, under the new commission, raged with redoubled fury.

¹ Wood's *Annals of the University of Oxford*—The story is authentic. The following is the Roman Catholic version of it—
'Oxonii sepulta fuerat digna Petri Martyre concubina, parthenonis et ipsa desertaræ sacrilega ut ille cœnobii Ejus ossa refodi jussierat Maria et sterquilino ut par erat condi. Nunc æmulo plane sanctitatis et virginitatis in Elizabethâ ingenio requisita sunt inter sordes sterquilini publici quæ um foedissima pars erant,


et incredibili studio inventa purgata lota in thecam eandem reponuntur in quâ S. Frideswidæ reliquæ colebantur, et cum his adeo confusa ut nullâ unquam possunt diligentia secerni. Clauditus locus et cubitibus litteris hoc epitaphio decoratur, 'Hic jacet religio cum superstitione,' melioris titulo meretricis hæretici pessimi concubine, pro nefas! deterioris ancillæ Christi sanctissimæ virginis attributo.'—FOX, vol. viii. Editor's note.

The subject is one to which it will not be necessary to return, except with some brief details. In this place, therefore, shall be given an extract from a tract in circulation among the Protestants who were expecting death, and it may be judged, from the sentiments with which these noble-natured men faced the prospect of their terrible trial, with what justice Pole called them brambles and briars only fit to be burnt—criminals worse than thieves, or murderers, or adulterers¹

‘The cross of persecution, if we will put childishness apart, and visibly weigh the worthiness thereof, is that sovereign tried medicine that quencheth the daily digested poison of self-love, worldly pleasure, fleshly felicity. It is the only worthy poison of ambition, covetousness, extortion, uncleanness, licentiousness, wrath, strife, sedition, sects, malice, and such other wayward worms. It is the hard hammer that breaketh off the rust from the anchor of a Christian faith. O profitable instrument! O excellent exercise, that cannot be spared in a Christian life! with what alacrity of mind, with what desirous affection, with what earnest zeal, ought we to embrace this incomparable jewel, this sovereign medicine, this comfortable cup of tribulation.

‘When a piece of ground is limited and bounded, it doth not only signify that it goeth no further, but also

¹ An Excellent Epistle, translated from French into English by Thomas Pownell, with a preface, A.D. 1556. The copy from which I make my extract is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, it is marked in

the margin in various places with a finger  apparently almost as old as the printing, and this finger was perhaps drawn by some one whom the words were consoling or inspiring in the hour of his own trial.


it tendeth and stretcheth to the bound. It is not enough to consider that we shall not pass the time that God hath limited and determined us to live, but we must assuredly persuade ourselves that we shall live as long as He hath ordained us to live; and so shall we do, in despite of all our enemies

‘And tell me, have men given us our life? No, forsooth. No more can they take it away from us. God hath given it, and God only doth take it away, for He is the Lord of death as well as of life, wherefore, when the appointed time of our death is come, let us assure ourselves that it is God only, and none other, that doth kill us, for He saith, It is I that kill and make alive again.

‘Let us follow the example of Christ, our Master, who seeing His death approaching, said to God, My Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt; thy will be done, and not mine—Let us offer, then, unto God our Father, ourselves for a sacrifice, whose savour, although it be evil in the nose of the world, yet it is good and agreeable unto God, by Jesus Christ his Son, in the faith of whom we do dedicate and offer ourselves, when we perceive our hour to approach.

‘And, whatsoever betide, let us not fear men; let us not fear them. God doth inhibit and forbid us in the same, saying, by his prophet, Fear them not, for I am with you, and seeing God doth forbid us to fear men, can we fear them without sin? No truly. To what purpose do we fear them? Men of themselves can do nothing, and if at any time they have any power, the

same only cometh unto them from God, and is given unto them only to accomplish the will of God. But peradventure ye will say to me that Jesus Christ himself, in the time of his cross, did fear death, and therefore it is no marvel though we do fear it, in whom is no such perfection and constancy. Truly the flesh doth always abuse herself with the example of Jesus Christ, she doth abuse it, for she cannot rightly use it, inasmuch as the flesh is in all ways repugnant unto the spirit and the good will of God. Forasmuch as ye will herein follow Christ—well, I am contented—fear death, but fear it as he did fear it. If you will say that Christ had fear of death, consider the same also to be on such sort as the fear did not keep him back from the voluntary obedience of his Father, and from saying, with unfeigned lips, *Thy will be done.*

‘Ye will say, We fear not death for any fear we have to be damned, neither for any diffidence that we have of eternal life, but we fear death for the human understanding that we have of the great pain that some do suffer in dying, and especially in dying by fire, for  we suppose that pain to surmount all patience. O fond flesh, thy voice is always full of love of thyself, and of a secret diffidence and mistrust of the Almighty power, wisdom, and goodness of God.’

While the true heroes of the age were fighting for freedom with the weapons of noble suffering, the world was about to recommence its own battles, with which it is less easy to sympathize. The attempt on Calais having failed, it became a question at the French Court,

whether, after having given so just cause of quarrel to England, wisdom would not suggest an abandonment of the intention of recommencing the contest with Philip. Noailles crossed to Paris in December, where the King questioned him whether Mary would be able to declare war. Noailles assured him, 'that out of doubt she would not; for if she should send those whom she trusted out of the realm, then would they whom she trusted not, not fail to be busy within the realm'¹ Reassured by the ambassador's opinion, Henry resumed

his purposes In March, the Duke of Guise
March led an army into Italy. The Pope recovered courage, defied Alva, and again laid claim to Naples; and it was to be seen now whether Noailles was right, —whether the English people would unite with the Court to resent the French King's conduct sufficiently to permit Mary at last to join in the quarrel

Philip, anxious and hopeful, paid England the respect of returning for a few weeks, and in the same month of March came over to sue the council in person The affair at Calais was a substantial ground for a rupture, but the attack, though intended, had not been actually made The story might seem, to the suspicions of the country, to have been invented by the Court, and, in other respects, Mary's injuries were not the injuries of the nation The currency was still prostrate, the people in unexampled distress The Flanders debts were as heavy as ever, and the Queen had in-

¹ Wotton to Petre *French MSS.*, bundle 13, State Paper Office.

sisted on abandoning a fifth of her revenues. A war would inevitably be most unpopular. The attempt nevertheless was made. The Queen produced the treaty of 1546, between England and the Empire, and, in compliance with its provisions, laid before the privy council a proposal, if not to declare war with France, yet to threaten a declaration, in the event of an invasion of the Netherlands.

The privy council considered the Queen's request, their conclusion was not what she desired.

The treaty of 1546, the council replied, had been abrogated by the treaty of marriage, so far as it might involve England in a war with France. 'Her Majesty would be unable to maintain a war, and, therefore, to say to the French King that she would aid her husband, according to the treaty, and not being able to perform it indeed, would be dishonourable, and many ways dangerous.' 'It was to be considered further, that, if by these means the realm should be drawn into war, the fault would be imputed to the King's Majesty.' 'The common people of the realm were at present many ways grieved—some pinched with famine, some for want of payment of money due to them, some discontented for matters of religion, and, generally, all yet tasting the smart of the late wars. It would be hard to have any aid of money of them. And in times past,' the council added, significantly, 'although the Prince found himself able to make and maintain wars, yet the causes of those wars were opened for the most part in Parliament.'¹

¹ Answer of the Privy Council to the Queen's question whether Eng-

Objections so decided and so just would have hardly been overcome, but for an injudicious enterprise of the refugees, under French auspices. The French Court believed that, by keeping Mary in alarm at home, they would make it the less easy for her to join in the war. They mistook the disposition of the people, who resented and detested the interference of France in their concerns.

Among the exiles at the Court of Paris, the most distinguished by birth, if not by ability, was Sir Thomas Stafford, Lord Stafford's second son, and grandson of the Duke of Buckingham who was put to death under

Henry VIII On the 27th of April, Wotton
 April sent notice to the Queen that Stafford had sailed from the mouth of the Seine with two vessels well manned and appointed. His destination was unknown; but it was understood that he intended to take some fortress on the English coast, and that the refugees, in a body, intended to follow him. Before Wotton's letter arrived, the scheme, such as it was, had been already executed. Stafford, with thirty Englishmen and one Frenchman, had surprised Scarborough Castle, and sent his proclamations through Yorkshire. He was come, he said, to deliver his country from foreign tyranny. He had sure evidence that an army of Spaniards was about to land, and that Philip intended to seize the crown by force. The Queen, by her marriage with a stranger, had forfeited her own rights, and he himself,

land shall enter the wars with France.—*Sloane MSS.* 1786, British Museum.

as the Protector of English liberty, intended to bestow the crown on the next rightful heir, and to restore all such acts, laws, liberties, and customs as were established in the time of that most prudent prince, King Henry VIII. 'He did not mind,' he thought it necessary to add, 'to work his own advancement touching possession of the crown, but to restore the blood and house of the Staffords to its pristine estate, which had been wrongfully suppressed by Cardinal Wolsey' ¹

The landing of Edward IV, at Ravenspurgh, had made any wild enterprise seem feasible, and Stafford had counted on the notorious hatred of the people for the Queen

But if the Spaniards meditated a descent upon England, it was not by adventurers like the refugees that their coming would be either prevented or avenged, and the good sense of the country had determined once for all to give no countenance to revolution supported by France. The occupation of Scarborough lasted two days, at the end of which Stafford and his whole party were

taken by the Earl of Westmoreland. Thirty-^{May} two prisoners were sent to London, thirty-one were put to death, and the council reluctantly withdrew their opposition to the war. A hundred and forty thousand pounds were in the exchequer, being part of the subsidy granted by Parliament to pay the Crown debts ². With

¹ Proclamation of Thomas Stafford, son to the Lord Henry, rightful Duke of Buckingham — STAFFORD'S *Memoirs*, vol. vi p. 515

² Exchequer Accounts. *M/S Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii. State Paper Office

this the Court prepared to commence, trusting to fortune for the future. War was to be declared on the 7th of June, and, while seven thousand men were to cross the Channel and join Pembroke in the Low Countries,¹ Howard was to cruise with the fleet in the Channel to use his discretion in annoying the enemy, and, if possible, to destroy the French ships at Dieppe²

Happy, however, in having succeeded in gratifying her husband, the Queen brought at once upon herself a blow which she had little foreseen, and from a quarter from which an injury was most painful. In her desire to punish France for assisting her rebellious heretical subjects, she seemed to have forgotten that France had an ally beyond the Alps. No sooner did Paul IV. learn that England was about to declare on the side of Philip, than, under the plausible pretence that he could have no ambassador residing in a country with which he was at war, he resolved to gratify his old animosity against Cardinal Pole, and cancel his legation.

Sir Edward Carne, the English resident at Rome, waited on the Pope to remonstrate. He urged Paul to recollect how much the Holy See owed to the Queen, and how dangerous it might be to re-open a wound imperfectly healed. The Pope at first was obstinate. At length he seemed so far inclined to yield as to say that,

¹ Bitterly hating then work that they were sent upon, 'the people went to the musters, said Sir Thomas Smith, with kerchiefs on their heads — they went to the wars hanging down their looks, they came from them as men dismayed and forlorn.' —*STRYPE'S Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, Appendix, p. 249

² Instructions to the Lord Admiral *MS. Mary, Domestica*, vol. II.

if the Queen would herself expressly desire it, he would distinguish between her and her husband.¹ But the suspension of the legation, though not at first published, was carried through the Consistory, and so ingeniously was it worded, that not only the formal and especial commission was declared at an end, but the legatine privileges, attached by immemorial custom to the archbishopric of Canterbury, were cancelled with it. The Pope chose to leave himself without representative, ordinary or extraordinary, at the English Court.

The Queen was in despair. Before Kame's letter reached her, she had heard what was impending, and she wrote a letter of passionate expostulation, in which she expatiated on her services to religion, and on the assistance which Pole had rendered her. She said that, in the unsettled condition of England, the presence of a legate with supreme authority was absolutely necessary; and she implored Paul to reconsider a decision so rash and so unkind.

The council added then separate protest² 'They had heard with infinite grief that the legate was to be taken from them. There was no precedent for the recall of a legate who had been once commissioned, unless

¹ Sir Edward Kame to the Queen. BURNI R's *Collectanea*

² Printed by STRIPE, *Memorials of the Reformation* vol vi p 476, and described by him as a letter of the Parliament. But at this time there was no Parliament in existence, the last had been dissolved eighteen months before, the next did

not meet till the ensuing January. The Queen's letter is dated the 21st May, and the letter which I suppose to have been from the council, and another, said also to have been from 'the nobility,' were evidently written under the same impression, and at the same time, when the idea of the recall was new.

from fault of his own ; and for themselves, they were unconscious of having misconducted themselves in any way since the reconciliation. Cardinal Pole had been the saviour of religion. Before his coming to England, the Queen, with the best intentions to do good, had failed to arrest the growth of heresy, and the name of the Holy See was held in detestation. Pole, the noblest and most distinguished of the cardinals, had made what was crooked straight ; he had introduced reforms everywhere , in a few years the wound would heal, and all would be well. If, however, he were now removed, the convalescent, deserted too soon by his physician, would relapse, and be worse than before. They entreated his Holiness, therefore, to listen to them, and allow him to remain. When they were reconciled, the Pope then reigning had promised that the customary privileges and immunities of the English nation should be maintained. It was the special prerogative of English sovereigns to have a legate perpetually resident in the person of the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and from immemorial time there was no record of any Archbishop to whom the legatine character had not attached as of right. The Queen, who had risked her life for the faith of the Church, did not deserve that the first exception should be made in her disfavour. The bishops did not deserve it. The few who, in the late times of trial, had remained faithful, did not deserve it. Even if the Queen would consent and give way, they would themselves be obliged to remonstrate.’¹

¹ Letters to the Pope STRAPE, vol vi pp 476—482 The drafts

Karno's letter produced a brief hope that the Pope would relent. But the partial promise of reconsidering his resolution had been extorted from Paul, while it was uncertain whether England would actually join in the conflict; the intended declaration of war had in the interval become a reality, and the Pope, more indignant than ever, chose to consider Pole personally responsible for the Queen's conduct. Since a point was made of the presence of a Papal legate in England, he was so far ready to give way; but so far only. The King left England the first week in July.

Mary accompanied him to Dover, and there a Papal nuncio met her, bringing a commission by which Pole was reduced into the ordinary rank of Archbishop; and the office of Papal representative was conferred on Peto, the Greenwich friar. For his objections to the present legate, the Pope gave the strange but wounding reason, that his orthodoxy was not above suspicion.

The Queen, with something of her father's temper in her, ordered the nuncio to return to Calais till she could again communicate with Rome. She interdicted Peto from accepting the commission, and desired Pole to continue to exercise his functions till the Pope had pronounced again a final resolution. Pole, however, was too faithful a child of the Church to disobey a Papal injunction, he relinquished his office, but he sent Ormaneto to Rome with his own entreaties and protests.

of the letters are not signed, nor | tached to them. It is not even cer-
does it appear what names were at- | tain that they were sent.

Never had a legate of the Holy See been treated as he was treated, he said; there was no precedent, therefore, to teach him how to act; nor was ever charge of heresy urged with less occasion than against one whose whole employment had been to recover souls to Christ and his Church, and to cut off those that were obstinate as rotten members. His services to the Church, he passionately exclaimed, transcended far the services of any legate who had been employed for centuries, and, nevertheless, he found himself accused of heresy by the Vicar of Christ upon earth. Such an insult was unjust and unprovoked; and his Holiness should consider also what he was doing in bringing the Queen, the mother of obedience, into heaviness and sorrow. Mother of obedience the Queen of England might well be called, whom God had made a mother of sons who were the joy of the whole Church. How was the Pope rewarding this sainted woman, when with the thunder of his voice he accused the King, her husband, of schism, and himself, the legate, of heresy?¹

Scarcely in his whole troubled life had a calamity more agitating overtaken Reginald Pole. To maintain the supremacy of the successor of St Peter, he had spent twenty years in treason to his native country. He had held up his sovereign to the execration of mankind for rejecting an authority which had rewarded him with an act of enormous injustice; and to plead his consciousness of innocence before the world against his spiritual

¹ Pole to the Pope. *STEVENS'S Memorials*, vol. vi p. 34, &c

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sovereign, would be to commit the same crime of disobedience for which he had put to death Cranmer, and laboured to set Europe on fire. Most fatal, most subtle retribution—for he knew that he was accused without cause; he knew that the Pope after all was but a peevish, violent, and spiteful old man, he knew it—yet even to himself he could not admit his own conviction.

Fortune, however, seemed inclined for a time to make some amends to Mary in the results of the war.

The French usually opened their summer campaigns by an advance into Lorraine or the Netherlands. This year their aggressive resources had been directed wholly into Italy, and at home they remained on the defensive. Philip, with creditable exertion, collected an army of 50,000 men, to take advantage of the opportunity. Fixing his own residence at Cambrai, he gave the command in the field to the Duke of Savoy; and Philibert, after having succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy, and leading them to expect him in Champagne, turned suddenly into Picardy, and invested the town of St Quentin. The garrison must soon have yielded, had not Coligny, the Admiral of France, broken through the siege lines and carried in reinforcements. Time was thus gained, and the Constable, eager to save a strong place, the possession of which would open to the Spaniards the road to Paris, advanced with all the force which he could collect, not meaning to risk a battle, but to throw provisions and further supplies of men into St Quentin. Montmorency had but 20,000 men with him. His levies consisted of the reserved force of the kingdom

—princes, peers, knights, gentlemen, with their personal retainues, the best blood in France. 'It was such an army as that which lost Agincourt, and a fate not very different was prepared for it.

August 10 The Constable was forced by accident into an engagement, in which he had the disadvantage of position as well as of numbers. † Mistaken movements caused a panic in the opening of the battle, and the almost instant result was a confused and hopeless rout. The Duke d'Enghien fell on the field with four thousand men, the Constable himself, the Duke de Montpensier, the Duke de Longueville, the Marshal St André, three hundred gentlemen, and several thousand common soldiers, were taken; the defeat was irremediably complete, and to the victors almost bloodless. The English did not share in the glory of the battle, for they were not present, but they arrived two days after to take part in the storming of St Quentin, and to share, to their shame, in the sack and spoiling of the town. They gained no honour, but they were on the winning side. The victory was credited to the Queen as a success, and was celebrated in London with processions, bonfires, and *Te Deums*.

Nor was the defeat at St Quentin the only disaster which the French arms experienced. Henry sent in haste to Italy for the Duke of Guise to defend Paris, where Philibert was daily expected. Guise was already returning after a failure less conspicuous, but not less complete, than that of the Constable. The Pope had received him on his arrival with enthusiasm, but the

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promised Papal contingent for the campaign had not been provided, the Pope was contented to be the soul of the enterprise of which France was to furnish the body. Guise advanced alone for the conquest of Naples, and he found himself, like De Lautrec in 1528, baffled by an enemy who would not meet him in the field, and obliged to waste his time and the health of his army in a series of unsuccessful sieges, till in a few months the climate had done Alva's work. The French troops perished in thousands, and Guise at last drew off his thinned ranks and fell back on Rome. Here the news of St Quentin reached him, and the Duke, leaving Paul to his fate, amid a storm of mutual reproaches, hurried back to his own country.

The Pontiff had now no resource but to yield, and the piety of the Spaniards, whom ^{September} he had compelled against their will to be his enemies softened the ignominy of his compelled submission. Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva met at Cava, where, in a few words, it was agreed that his Holiness should relinquish his alliance with France, and cease to trouble the Colonnas. Alva, on his side, restored the Papal towns which he had taken, he went to Rome to ask pardon on his knees, in Philip's name, for the violence which he had used to his spiritual father, and the Pope gave him gracious absolution.

This bad business, which had tried Mary so severely, was thus well finished, and on the 6th of ^{October} October London was again illuminated for the peace between the King and the Papacy. But the

shadow which had been thrown on Pole was maliciously permitted to remain unremoved, on him, perhaps from personal ill-feeling, Paul visited his own disappointment. With the return of peace there was no longer any plausible reason for the recall of the legation; Peto was dead, having survived his unpropitious honours but a few months: yet, unmoved by Pole's entreaties, the Pope refused to permit him to resume his legatine functions, except so far as they were inherent in the archbishopric. The odious accusation of heresy was not withdrawn; and the torturing charge was left to embitter the peace of mind, and poison the last days, of the most faithful servant of the Church who was then living¹

November And again, though there was peace with the Pope, there was still war with France; there was still war with Scotland. The events which had taken place in Scotland will be related hereafter. It is enough for the present to say that the Scots had

¹ Pole's sufferings in consequence were really piteous. 'Your Holiness,' he wrote on the 30th of March, 1558, 'is taking my life from me when you take from me the reputation of orthodoxy. You told the English ambassador it was God's doing, God has told you, like Abraham, to kill your son; and that your Holiness intends that kind of death for me, I know far more certainly than Isaac seemed to know his father's purpose. When I see the fire and the knife in the hands of your Holiness, and the wood laid

upon my shoulders, there is no need for me to ask where is the victim.

'When I was yet a lamb, I gave myself as a sacrifice to the Pontiff, who chose me for a cardinal. Thus I thought of myself, thus I spoke when I lay prostrate before the altar. Little did I then think the time would come, when I should be offered up by my father's hands a second time, especially when the Bishop of Rochester was here hanging as a lamb among the briers ready to be immolated,' &c.—Pole to the Pope *Epistole*, vol. v. p. 31.

been true as usual to their old allies ; no sooner was an English army landed in France, than a Scotch army was wasting and burning on the Border. A second force had to be raised and kept in the field to meet them, and the scantily supplied Treasury was soon empty.

Money had to be found somewhere. The harvest, happily, had been at last abundant, and wheat had fallen from 50 shillings a quarter to 4 or 5. The country was in a condition to lend, and a commission was sent out for a forced loan, calculated on the assessment of the last subsidy. Lists of the owners of property in each county were drawn out, with sums of money opposite to their names, and the collectors were directed 'to travail by all the best ways they might for obtaining the sums noted.' Persons found conformable were to receive acknowledgments. Should 'any be floward' they were to find securities to appear when called on before the privy council, or to be arrested on the spot and sent to London.¹ A hundred and ten thousand pounds were collected under the commission, in spite of outcry and resistance,² but it was not enough for the hungry consumption of the war, and the Court was driven to call a Parliament.

The writs went out at the beginning of December, accompanied with the usual circulars, to which the Queen added a promise, that if the

¹ Commission for the Loan. *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol. xi.

² *Ibid* vol. xii.

mayors and sheriffs¹ would consult her wishes she would remember their services. In a second address she said her pleasure was that when the privy council, or any of them within their jurisdiction, should recommend 'men of learning and wisdom,' their directions should 'be regarded and followed.'² Yet there was not perhaps any wish to have the House of Commons unfairly packed. Mary desired, probably with sincerity, 'to have the assembly of the most chiefest men in the realm for advice and counsel.'

How the Parliament would have acted in the circumstances under which the meeting was anticipated,

¹ The Queen to all sheiffes, mayors, &c.—For the well choosing of the knights of the shire and burgesses

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well and whereas for certain great and weighty causes touching both the honour of Almighty God, and the wealth and good government of this our realm, we have summoned our High Court of Parliament, to be holden at Westminster, the 20th of January next and forasmuch as we consider that a great part of the furthering of such things, as shall be treated in our said Parliament, and bringing them to good effect, shall consist in the well appointing and choosing of such as shall be knights of shires, citizens of any city, or burgesses of other towns

corporate, we have thought good to require you to have good regard, and so far forth as in you may lie, to provide that such as shall be appointed may be men given to good order, Catholic, and discreet, and so qualified, as the ancient law of this realm requireth, giving the freeholders, citizens, burgesses within our said county to understand, what our will and pleasure is in that behalf Hereby as you shall do good service unto God and this your country, so shall you also do us right acceptable pleasure, which we shall consider towards you as any occasion may shew. Given under our signet, December 10, 1557'—*MS Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii

² *MS Ibid.*

is very uncertain. The intense unpopularity of the war had been little relieved by the victory at St Quentin, and the general state of suffering made a fresh demand for money infinitely grievous. But between the issue of the writs and the 20th of January a blow had fallen on England which left room for no other thought.

For the last ten years the French had kept their eyes on Calais. The recovery of Boulogne was an insufficient retaliation for the disgrace which they had suffered in the loss of it, while the ill success with which the English maintained themselves in their new conquest, suggested the hope, and proved the possibility, of expelling them from the old. The occupation of a French fortress by a foreign power was a perpetual insult to the national pride, it was a memorial of evil times, while it gave England inconvenient authority in the 'narrow seas'. Scarcely a month had passed since Mary had been on the throne, without a hint from some quarter or other to the English Government to look well to Calais, and the recent plot for its surprise was but one of a series of schemes which had been successively formed and abandoned.

In 1541 the defences of Guisnes, Hammes, and Calais, had been repaired by Henry VIII. The dykes had been cleared and enlarged, the embankments strengthened, and the sluices put in order.¹ But in

¹ A complete account of the repairs at Calais, with the cost of the work, and the wages of the workmen, is printed in an appendix to the *Chronicle of Calais*, published by the Camden Society.

the wasteful times of Edward, the works had fallen again into ruin; and Mary, straitened by debt, by a diminished revenue, and a supposed obligation to make good the losses of the clergy, had found neither means nor leisure to attend to them.

In the year 1500, the cost of maintaining the three fortresses was something less than 10,000*l.* a-year;¹ and the expense had been almost or entirely supported by the revenue of the Pale. The more extended fortifications had necessitated an increase in the garrison; two hundred men were now scarcely sufficient to man the works;² while, owing to bad government, and the growing anomaly of the English position, the wealthier inhabitants had migrated over the frontiers, and left the Pale to a scanty, wretched, starving population, who could scarcely extract from the soil sufficient for their own subsistence.³ While the cost of the occupation was becoming greater, the means of meeting it became less. The country could no longer thrive in English hands, and it was time for the invaders to be gone.

¹ *Chronicle of Calais*

² Lord Grey to the Queen, June 13, 1557. *Calais MSS* bundle 10, State Paper Office.

³ In 1550, Sir John Mason wrote to the council, 'I have heard say that, not long sythen the Low Countries were able to set to the field 300 able men on horseback, I think there lacketh of that number at this present a great many, the

occasion whereof, by the report of the King's ministers on this side, is for that the King's lands are so raised as no man is able to live thereupon unless it is a sort of poor dyvells, that must dig their living with their nails out of the ground, and be not able scarce to maintain a jade to carry their corn to market.'

French MSS Edward VI. bundle 9.

The Government in London, however, seemed, notwithstanding warnings, to be unable to conceive the loss of so old a possession to be a possibility; and Calais shared the persevering neglect to which the temporal interests of the realm were subjected. The near escape from the Dudley treason created a momentary improvement. The arrears of wages were paid up, and the garrison was increased. Yet a few months after, when war was on the point of being declared, there were but two hundred men in Guisnes, a number inadequate to defend even the castle, and although the French fleet at that time commanded the Channel, Calais contained provisions to last but for a few weeks¹. Lord Grey, the governor of Guisnes, reported in June, after the declaration, that the French were collecting in strength in the neighbourhood, and that unless he was reinforced, he was at their mercy. A small detachment was sent over in consequence of Grey's letter; but on the 2nd of July Sir Thomas Cornwallis informed the Queen that the numbers were still inadequate. 'The enemy,' Cornwallis said, 'perceiving our weakness, maketh daily attempts upon your subjects, who are much abashed to see the courage of your enemies, whom they are not able to hurt nor yet defend themselves.' He entreated that a larger force should be sent immediately, and maintained in the Pale during the war. The charge would be great, but the peril would be greater if the men were not provided, and as her Majesty had been pleased to

¹ *Calais MSS* bundle 10.

enter into the war, her honour must be more considered than her treasure.¹

The arrival of the army under Pembroke removed the immediate ground for alarm; and after the defeat of the French, the danger was supposed to be over altogether. The Queen was frightened at the expenses which she was incurring, and again allowed the establishment to sink below the legitimate level. Lord Wentworth was left at Calais with not more than five hundred men. Grey had something more than a thousand at Guisnes, but a part only were English; the rest were Burgundians and Spaniards. More unfortunately also, a proclamation had forbidden the export of corn in England, from which Calais had not been excepted. Guisnes and Hammes depended for their supplies on Calais, and by the middle of the winter there was an actual scarcity of food.²

Up to the beginning of December, notwithstanding, there were no external symptoms to create uneasiness; military movements lay under the usual stagnation of winter, and except a few detachments on the frontiers of the Pale, who gave trouble by marauding excursions,

¹ Cornwallis to the Queen *Calais*
MSS. bundle 10

² When all your Majesty's pieces on this side make account to be furnished of victuals and other necessaries from hence, it is so that of victuals your Highness hath presently none here, and the town hath none, by reason that the restraint

in the realm hath been so strict, and the victuallers as were wont to bring daily hither good quantities of butter, cheese, bacon, wheat, and other things, might not of late be suffered to have any recourse hither, whereby is grown a very great scarcity —
 Wentworth to the Queen *Calais*
MSS bundle 10

the French appeared to be resting in profound repose On the 1st of December, the Go-^{Dec 1}vernour of Guisnes, reported an expedition for the destruction of one of their outlying parties, which had been accomplished with ominous cruelty

‘I advertised your Grace,’ Lord Grey wrote to the Queen, ‘how I purposed to make a journey to a church called Bushing, strongly fortified by the enemy, much annoying this your Majesty’s frontier It may please your Majesty, upon Monday last, at nine of the clock at night, having with me Mr Aucher, marshal of Calais, Mr Alexander, captain of Newnham Bridge, Sir Henry Palmer, my son,¹ and my cousin Louis Dives, with such horsemen and footmen as could be conveniently spared abroad in service, leaving your Majesty’s pieces in safety, I took my journey towards the said Bushing, and carried with me two cannon and a sacre, for that both the weather and the ways served well to the purpose, and next morning came hither before day And having before our coming enclosed the said Bushing with two hundred footmenarquebuzers, I sent an officer to summon the same in the King’s Highness’ and your Majesty’s name, whereunto the captain there, a man of good estimation, who the day before was sent there with twelve men by M. Senarpont, captain of Boulogne, answered that he was not minded to render, but would keep it with such men as he had, which were forty in number or thereabouts, even to the death, and

¹ Sir Arthur Grey

further said, if their fortune was so to lose their lives, he knew that the King his master had more men alive to serve, with many other words of French bravery Upon this answer, I caused the gunners to bring up their artillery to plank, and then shot off immediately ten or twelve times But yet for all this they would not yield At length, when the cannon had made an indifferent breach, the Frenchmen made signs to parley, and would gladly have rendered, but I again, weighing it not meet to abuse your Majesty's service therein, and having Sir H. Palmer there hurt, and some others of my men, refused to receive them, and, according to the law of arms, put as many of them to the sword as could be gotten at the entry of the breach, and all the rest were blown up with the steeple at the raising thereof, and so all slain¹

The law of arms forbade the defence of a fort not rationally defensible; but it was over hardly construed against a gallant gentleman Grey was a fierce, stein man It was Grey who hung the priests in Oxfordshire from their church towers It was Grey who led the fiery charge upon the Scots at Musselburgh, and with a pike wound, which laid open cheek, tongue, and palate, he 'pursued out the chase,' till, choked by heat, dust, and his own blood, he was near falling under his horse's feet.²

¹ Grey to the Queen *Calais MSS* bundle 10

² He was held up by the Earl of Warwick, who sprang from his own horse, and 'did lift a skin of ale' to Grey's mouth *Life of Lord Grey of Wilton*, by his son

Three weeks passed, and still the French had made no sign. On the 22nd an indistinct rumour came to Guisnes that danger was near. The frost had set in, the low damp ground was hard, the dykes were frozen, and in sending notice of the report to England, Grey said that Calais was unprovided with food, Guisnes contained a few droves of cattle brought in by forays over the frontier,¹ but no corn. On the 27th, the intelligence became more distinct and more alarming. The Duke of Guise was at Compiègne. A force of uncertain magnitude, but known to be large, had suddenly appeared at Abbeville. Something evidently was intended, and something on a scale which the English commanders felt ill prepared to encounter. In a hurried council of war held at Calais, it was resolved to make no attempt to meet the enemy in the field until the arrival of reinforcements, which were written for in pressing haste.²

But the foes with whom they had to deal knew their condition, and were as well aware as themselves that success depended on rapidity. Had the Queen paid attention to Grey's despatch of the 22nd there was time to have trebled the garrison and thrown in supplies, but it was vague, and no notice was taken of it. The joint letter of Grey and Wentworth written on the 27th, was in London in two days, and there were ships at Portsmouth and in the Thames, which ought to have been ready for sea at a moment's warning. Orders

¹ Grey to the Queen. *Calais MSS* bundle 10

² Wentworth and Grey to the Queen. *Ibid*

were sent to prepare; the Earl of Rutland was commissioned to raise troops; and the Queen, though without sending men, sent a courier with encouragements and promises. But when every moment was precious, a fatal slowness, and more fatal irresolution, hung about the movements of the Government. On the
Dec. 29 29th Wentworth wrote again, that the French were certainly arming and might be looked for immediately. On the 31st, the Queen, deceived probably by some emissary of Guise, replied, that 'she had intelligence that no enterprise was intended against Calais or the Pale,' and that she had therefore countermanded the reinforcements.¹

The letter containing the death sentence, for it was nothing less, of English rule in Calais, was crossed on the way by another from Grey, in which he informed the Queen that there were thirty or forty vessels in the harbour at Ambletue, two fitted as floating batteries, the rest loaded with hurdles, ladders, and other materials for a siege. Four-and-twenty thousand men were in the camp above Boulogne; and their mark he knew to be Calais. For himself, he would defend his charge to the death; but help must be sent instantly, or it would be too late to be of use.

Dec 31. The afternoon of the same day, December 31, he added, in a postscript, that flying companies of the French were at that moment before Guisnes; part of the garrison had been out to skirmish,

¹ The Queen to Wentworth *Calais MSS.* bundle 10

but had been driven in by numbers, the whole country was alive with troops

The next morning Wentworth reported to the same purpose, that, on the land side, Calais was then invested. The sea was still open, and the forts at the mouth of the harbour on the Rysbank were yet in his hands. Heavy siege cannon, however, were said to be on their way from Boulogne, and it was uncertain how long he could hold them.

The defences of Calais towards the land, though in bad repair, had been laid out with the best engineering skill of the time. The country was intersected with deep muddy ditches, the roads were causeways, and at the bridges were bulwarks and cannon. Guisnes, which was three miles from Calais, was connected with it by a line of small forts and 'turnpikes.' Hammes lay between the two, equidistant from both. Towards the sea the long line of low sandhills, rising in front of the harbour to the Rysbank, formed a natural pier; and on the Rysbank was the castle, which commanded the entrance and the town. The possession of the Rysbank was the possession of Calais.

The approaches to the sandhills were commanded by a bulwark towards the south-west called the Sandgate, and further inland by a large work called Newnham Bridge. At this last place were sluices, through which, at high water, the sea could be let in over the marshes. If done effectually, the town could by this means be effectually protected, but unfortunately, owing to the bad condition of the banks, the sea water leaked in from

the high levels to the wells and reservoirs in Calais

The night of the 1st of January the French remained

Jan 2 quet; with the morning they advanced in force upon Newnham Bridge. An advanced

party of English archers and musketeers who were outside the gate were driven in, and the enemy pushed in pursuit so close under the walls that the heavy guns could not be depressed to touch them. The English, however, bored holes through the gates with augers, fired their muskets through them, and so forced their assailants back. Towards Hammes and Guisnes the sea was let in, and the French, finding themselves up to their waists in water, and the tide still rising, retreated on that side also. Wentworth wrote in the afternoon in high spirits at the result of the first attack. The brewers were set to work to fill their vats with fresh water, that full advantage might be taken of the next tide. Working parties were sent to cut the sluices, and the English commander felt confident that if help was on the way, or could now be looked for, he could keep his charge secure. But the enemy, he said, were now thirty thousand strong, Guise had taken the Sandgate, and upwards of a hundred boats were passing backwards and forwards to Boulogne and Ambletue, bringing stores and ammunition.¹ If the Queen had a body of men

¹ 'Surely,' Wentworth wrote to the Queen, 'if your Majesty's ships had been on the shore, they might either have letted this voyage, or, at the least, very much hindered it, and not unlike to have distressed them, being only small boats. Their ordnance that comes shall be conveyed in the same sort. It may therefore please your Majesty to consider it. I am, as a man may be, most sure that they will first at-

in readiness, they would come without delay. If she was unprepared, 'the passages should be thrown open,' and 'liberty be proclaimed for all men to come that would bring sufficient victuals for themselves,' thus, he 'was of opinion that there would be enough with more speed than would be made by order.'

So far Wentworth had written. While the pen was in his hand, a message reached him, that the French, without waiting for their guns, were streaming up over the Rysbank, and laying ladders against the walls of the fort. He had but time to close his letter, and send his swiftest boat out of the harbour with it, when the castle was won, and ingress and egress at an end. The same evening, the heavy guns came from Boulogne, and for two days and nights the town was fired upon incessantly from the sandbank, and from 'St Peter's Heath.'

The fate of Calais was now a question of hours, Wentworth had but 500 men to repel an army, and he was without provisions. Calais was probably gone, but Guisnes might be saved, Guisnes could be relieved with a great effort out of the Netherlands. On the night of the 4th, Grey found means to send a letter through the French lines to England. 'The enemy,' he said, 'were now in possession of Calais harbour, and all the country between Calais and Guisnes.'

tempt upon Rysbank, and that way chiefly assail the town. Marry, I think that they be hovering in the country for the coming of their great artillery and also to be masters of the sea, and therefore I trust your Highness will haste over all things necessary with all expedition.—Wentworth to the Queen. *Calais*
MSS bundle 10

He was 'clean cut off from all relief and aid which he looked to have; and there was no other way for the succour of Calais and the other fortresses, but 'a power of men out of England or from the King's Majesty, or from both,' either to force the French into a battle or to raise the siege. Come what would, he would himself do the duty of a faithful subject, and keep the castle while men could hold it ¹

The Court, which had been incredulous of danger till it had appeared, was now paralyzed by the greatness of it. Definite orders to collect troops were not issued till the 2nd of January. The Earl of Rutland galloped the same day to Dover, where the musters were to meet, flung himself into the first boat that he found, without waiting for them, and was half-way across the Channel when he was met by the news of the loss of the Rysbank ² Rutland therefore returned to Dover, happy so far to have escaped sharing the fate of Wentworth, which his single presence could not have averted. The next day, the 3rd, parties of men came in slowly from Kent and Sussex; but so vague had been the language of the proclamation, that they came without arms, and although the country was at war with France, there were no arms with which to provide them, either in Deal, Dover, or Sandwich. Again, so indistinct had been Rutland's orders, that although a few hundred

¹ Grey to the Queen *Calais MSS.* The letter was dated January 4, seven o'clock at night. The messenger was to carry it to Gravelines under cover of darkness. It is

endorsed, 'Haste, hasto, hasto' Post haste for thy life, for thy life.'

² Rutland to the Queen *Calais MSS.*

men did come in at last tolerably well equipped, and the Prince of Savoy had collected some companies of Spaniards at Gravelines, and had sent word to Dover for the English to join him, Rutland was now obliged to refer to London for permission to go over. On the 7th, permission came, it was found by that time, or supposed to be found, that the Queen's ships were none of them seaworthy, and an order of the council came out to press all competent merchant ships and all able seamen everywhere, for the Queen's service.¹ Rutland contrived at last, by vigorous efforts, to collect a few hoys and boats, but the French had now ships of war in co-operation with them, and he could but approach the French coast near enough to see that he could venture no nearer, and again return.² Jan. 7

He would have been too late to save Calais at that time, however, even if he had succeeded in crossing.

The day preceding, the 6th of January, Jan 6
after a furious cannonade, Guise had stormed the castle. The English had attempted to blow it up when they could not save it, but their powder train had been washed with water, and they failed. The Spaniards, for once honourably careful of English interests, came along the shore from Gravelines alone, since no one joined them from England, and attempted in the face of overwhelming odds to force their way into the town; but they were driven back, and Wentworth, feeling that further resistance would lead to useless slaughter,

¹ *MS Council Records*

² *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol vi

demanding a parley, and after a short discussion accepted the terms of surrender offered by Guise. The garrison and the inhabitants of Calais, amounting in all, men, women, and children, to 5000 souls, were permitted to retire to England with their lives, and nothing more. Wentworth and fifty others were to remain prisoners, the town, with all that it contained, was to be given up to the conquerors.

On these conditions the English laid down their arms and the French troops entered. The spoil was enormous, and the plunder of St Quentin was not unjustly revenged; jewels, plate, and money were deposited on the altars of the churches, and the inhabitants, carrying with them the clothes which they wore, were sent as homeless beggars in the ensuing week across the Channel.

Then only, when it was too late, the Queen roused herself. As soon as Calais had definitely fallen, all the English counties were called on by proclamation to contribute their musters. Then all was haste, eagerness, impetuosity; those who had money were to provide for those who had none, till 'order could be taken.'

Jan 7 The Vice-Admiral, Sir William Woodhouse, was directed to go instantly to sea, pressing everything that would float, and promising indemnity to the owners in the Queen's name. Thirty thousand men were rapidly on their way to the coast; the weather had all along been clear and frosty, with calms and light east winds, and the sea off Dover was swiftly covered with a miscellaneous crowd of vessels.

On the 10th came the Queen's command for
the army to cross to Dunkirk, join the Duke Jan 10
of Savoy, and save Guisnes

But the opportunity which had been long offered, and long neglected, was now altogether gone, the ships were ready, troops came, and arms came, but a change of weather came also, and westerly gales and storms On the night of the 10th a gale blew up from the south-west which raged for four days such vessels as could face the sea, slipped their moorings, and made their way into the Thames with loss of spars and rigging, the hulls of the rest strewed Dover beach with wrecks, or were swallowed in the quicksands of the Goodwin

The effect of this last misfortune on the Queen was to produce utter prostration Storms may rise, vessels may be wrecked, and excellent enterprises may suffer hindrance, by the common laws or common chances of things; but the Queen in every large occurrence imagined a miracle; Heaven she believed was against her Though Guisnes was yet standing, she ordered Woodhouse to collect the ships again in the Thames, 'forasmuch as the principal cause of their sending forth had ceased,'¹ and on the 13th she counter-ordered the musters, and sent home all the troops which had arrived at Dover.²

Having given way to despondency, the Court should

¹ The Queen to Sir William Woodhouse, January 12 *MS Mar y, Domestic*, vol xii

Circular for Staying of the Musters *MS Mar y, Domestic*, vol xi

have communicated with Grey, and directed him to make terms for himself and the garrisons of Guisnes and Hammes. In the latter place there was but a small detachment; but at Guisnes were eleven hundred men, who might lose their lives in a desperate and now useless defence. The disaster, however, had taken away the power of thinking or resolving upon anything.

It must be said for Philip that he recognized more clearly and discharged more faithfully the duty of an English sovereign than the Queen or the Queen's advisers. Spanish and Burgundian troops were called under arms as fast as possible, and when he heard of the gale he sent ships from Antwerp and Dunkirk to bring across the English army. But when his transports arrived at Dover they found the men all gone. Proclamations went out on the 17th to call them back,¹ but two days after there was a counter-panic and a dread of invasion, and the perplexed levies were again told that they must remain at home. So it went on to the end of the month; the resolution of one day alternated with the hesitation of the next, and nothing was done.

The Queen's government had lost their heads. Philip having done his own part, did not feel it incumbent on him to risk a battle with inferior numbers, when those who were more nearly concerned were contented to be supine. Guisnes, therefore, and its defenders, were left to their fate.

¹ *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. vii., January 17.

On Thursday, the 13th, the Duke of Guise appeared before the gates. The garrison could have been starved out in a month, but Guise gave England credit for energy, and would not run the risk of a blockade. To reduce the extent of his lines, Grey abandoned the town, burnt the houses, and withdrew into the castle. The French made their approaches in form. On the morning of Monday the 17th they opened fire from two heavily armed batteries, and by the middle of the day they had silenced the English guns, and made a breach which they thought practicable. A storming party ventured an attempt; after sharp fighting the advanced columns had to retreat; but as they drew back the batteries re-opened, and so effectively, that the coming on of night alone saved the English from being driven at once, and on the spot, from their defences. The walls were of the old sort, constructed when the art of gunnery was in its infancy, and brick and stone crumbled to ruins before the heavy cannon which had come lately into use.

Under shelter of the darkness earthworks were thrown up, which proved a better protection, but the French on their side planted other batteries, and all Tuesday and Wednesday the terrible bombardment was continued. The old walls were swept away; the ditch was choked with the rubbish, and was but a foot in depth; the French trenches had been advanced close to its edge, and on Wednesday afternoon, twelve companies of Gascons and Swiss again dashed at the breaches. The Gascons were the first,

the Swiss followed 'with a stately leisure;' and a hand-to-hand fight began all along the English works. The guns from a single tower which had been left standing causing loss to the assailants, it was destroyed by the batteries. The fight continued till night, when darkness as before put an end to it.

The earthworks could be again repaired, but the powder began to fail, and this loss was irreparable. Lord Grey, going his rounds in the dark, trod upon a sword point, and was wounded in the foot. The daylight brought the enemy again, who now succeeded in making themselves masters of the outer line of defence. Grey, crippled as he was, when he saw his men give

Jan 20 way, sprung to the top of the rampart, 'wishing God that some shot would take him.' A soldier caught him by the scarf and pulled him down, and all that was left of the garrison fell back, carrying their commander with them into the keep. The gate was rammed close, but Guise could now finish his work at his leisure, and had the English at his mercy. He sent a trumpeter in the evening to propose a parley, and the soldiers insisted that if reasonable terms could be had, they should be accepted. The extremity of the position was obvious, and Grey, as we have seen, was no stranger to the law of arms in such cases. Hostages were exchanged, and the next morning the two commanders met in the French camp.

Better terms were offered by Guise than had been granted to Calais—Grey, Sir Henry Palmer, and a few officers were to consider themselves prisoners; the rest

of the garrison might depart with their arms, and 'every man a crown in his purse.' Grey demanded that they should march out with their colours flying, Guise refused, and after an hour's discussion they separated without a conclusion.

But the soldiers were insensible to nice distinctions; if they had the reality, they were not particular about the form. Grey lectured them on the duties of honour, for his part, he said, he would rather die under the red cross than lose it. The soldiers replied that their case was desperate; they would not be thrust into butchery or sell their lives for vain glory. The dispute was at its height when the Swiss troops began to lay ladders to the walls, the English refused to strike another blow; and Grey, on his own rule, would have deserved to be executed had he persisted longer.

Guise's terms were accepted. He had lived to repay England for his spear wound at Boulogne, and the last remnant of the continental dominions of the Plantagenets was gone.

Measured by substantial value, the loss of Calais was a gain. English princes were never again to lay claim to the crown of France, and the possession of a fortress on French soil was a perpetual irritation. But Calais was called the 'brightest jewel in the English crown.' A jewel it was, useless, costly, but dearly prized. Over the gate of Calais had once stood the insolent inscription:—

'Then shall the Frenchman Calais win,
When iron and lead like cork shall swim.'

and the Frenchmen had won it, won it in fair and gallant fight.

If Spain should rise suddenly into her ancient strength and tear Gibraltar from us, our mortification would be faint, compared to the anguish of humiliated pride with which the loss of Calais distracted the subjects of Queen Mary

CHAPTER XXXV.

DEATH OF MARY.

THE Queen would probably have found the Parliament which met on the 20th of January little better disposed towards her than its predecessor. The subsidy which should have paid the Crown debts had gone as the opposition had foretold, and the country had been dragged after all into the war so long dreaded and so much deprecated. The forced loan of 100,000*l* had followed, and money was again wanted.

But ordinary occasions of discontent disappeared in the enormous misfortune of the loss of Calais, or rather, the loss of Calais had so humbled the nation in its own eyes, that it expected to be overrun with French armies in the approaching summer. The Church had thriven under Mary's munificence, but every other interest had been recklessly sacrificed. The fortresses were without arms, the ships were unfit for service, the coast was defenceless. The Parliament postponed their complaints till the national safety had been provided for.

On the 26th a committee, composed of thirty mem-

bers of both Houses, met to consider the crisis¹ 'That no way or policy should be undevise'd or not thought upon,' they divided themselves into three sub-committees; and after three days' separate consultation the thirty met again, and agreed to recommend the heaviest subsidy which had been ever granted to an English sovereign, equivalent in modern computation to an income-tax of 20 per cent for two years. If levied fairly such a tax would have yielded a large return. Michele, the Venetian, says that many London merchants were worth as much as 60,000*l* in money; the graziers and the merchants had made fortunes while the people had starved. But either from hatred of the Government, or else from meanness of disposition, the money-making classes generally could not be expected to communicate the extent of their possessions. The landowners, truly or falsely, declared that, 'for the most part, they received no more rent than they were wont to receive,' 'yet, paying for everything, they provided thrice as much by reason of the baseness of the money.'² It was calculated that the annual proceeds of the subsidy would be no more than 140,000*l*,³ and even this the House of Commons declared that the country would not bear for more than one year. They did not choose

¹ *Commons' Journals*

² *Ibid*. The famous graziers and other people, how well willing soever they be taken to be, will not be known of their wealth, and by miscontentment of their loss, be grown stubborn and liberal of talk.

The Council to Philip *Cotton MS Titus, B 2*

³ Estimate of the Money to be provided for the Furniture and Charges of the War. *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii

perhaps to leave the Queen at liberty to abuse their confidence by giving her the full grant to squander on the clergy. They were unanimous that the country must and should be defended. They admitted that the sum which they were ready to vote would fall short of the indispensable outlay, nevertheless, when the report of the committee was laid before them they cut it down to half. They agreed to give four shillings in the pound for one year, and to pay it all at Midsummer. 'They entreated her Majesty to stay the demanding of more' until another session of Parliament. Should circumstances then require it, they promised that they would add whatever might be necessary, but, for the present, 'if any invasion should be in the realm, or if the enemy should seek to annoy them at home, they would have to employ themselves with all their powers, which would not be without their great charges.'¹

The resolution of Parliament decided the February council in the course which they must pursue with respect to Calais. Philip, unable to prevent the catastrophe alone, proposed to take the field at once with a united army of English and Spaniards, to avenge it, and effect a recapture. He laid his plans before the council. The council, in reply, thanked his Majesty for his good affection towards the realm, they would have accepted his offer on their knees had it been possible, but the state of England obliged them to decline. The enemy, after the time which had been

¹ Discourse on the Order that was used in granting of the Subsidy.
MS Mary, Domestic, vol. xii

allowed them, 'would be in such strength that it was doubtful if by force alone they could be expelled.' If England sent out an army, it could not send less than twenty thousand men; and the troops would go unwillingly upon a service for which they had no heart, at a time of year when they were unused to exposure. Before the year was out, 150,000*l* at the lowest would have to be spent in keeping the musters of the country under arms. The navy and the defences of the coast and of the isles would cost 200,000*l*, without including the losses of cannon and military stores at Guisnes and Calais, which would have to be made good. The campaign which Philip proposed could not cost less than a further 170,000*l*.; and so much money could not be had 'without the people should have strange impositions set upon them, which they could not bear' There was but 'a wan hope of recovering Calais,' and 'inconveniences might follow' if the attempt was made and failed ¹

'The people have only in their heads,' the council added, 'the defence of the realm by land and sea' The hated connection with Spain had produced all the evils which the opponents of the marriage had foretold, and no good was expected from any enterprise pursued in common with Philip. Prone as the English were to explain events by supernatural causes, they saw, like the Queen, in the misfortunes which had haunted her, an evidence that Heaven was not on her side, and they

¹ The Council to Philip. *Cotton, MSS Titus, B. 2*

despaired of success in anything until it could be undertaken under better auspices. They would take care of themselves at home, and they would do no more. In reducing the subsidy, the Commons promised to defend the country 'with the residue of their goods and life,' and 'to pass a special law obliging every man to provide himself, or to be provided, with armour and weapons according to his ability' ¹

Every peer, knight, or gentleman, with an income above 1000*l* a-year, was called on to furnish sixteen horses, with steel harness, forty corslets, coats of mail, and morions, thirty long-bows, with sheaves of arrows, and as many steelcaps, halberds, blackbills, and haquebuts. All English subjects, in a descending scale, were required to arm others or arm themselves according to their property ²

In the levies of the past summer, men had shrunk from service, and muster-masters, after the fashion of Falstaff, had taken bribes to excuse them. On the present occasion no excuse was to be taken, and every able-bodied man, of any rank, from sixteen to sixty, was to be ready to take arms when called upon, and join his officers, under pain of death ³. With these essential orders, the business of the Legislature ended, and Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of March till the following November.

The chief immediate difficulty was to find money for present necessities. The loan was ^{March 13}

¹ *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol. XII

² 4 and 5 Philip and Mary. statute 2

³ *Ibid.* statute 3

gone. The subsidy would not come in for six months. Englefield, Waldegrave, Petre, Baker, and Sir Walter Mildmay, were formed into a permanent committee of ways and means, with instructions to sit daily 'till some device had been arrived at'¹ Sir Thomas Gresham was sent again to Antwerp to borrow 200,000*l*, if possible, at fourteen per cent² The Queen applied in person for a loan to the citizens of London For security, she offered to bind the crown lands, 'so assuredly as they themselves could cause to be devised';³ and she promised, further, that, if she could legally do it, she would dispense in their favour with the statute for the limitation of usury.

To this last appeal the corporation responded with a loan of 20,000*l*, at twelve per cent.; the Merchant Adventurers contributed 18,000*l* more, and Gresham sent from Flanders from time to time whatever he could obtain. In this way dockyards and armouries were set in activity, and the castles on the coast were repaired.

Yet with the masses the work of arming went forward languidly. The nation was heavy at heart, and it was in vain that the noblemen and gentlemen endeavoured to raise men's spirits; the black incubus of the priesthood sat upon them like a nightmare. The

¹ *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol xii

² *Flanders MSS Mary* The aggregate of the debts to the Flanders Jews, which Elizabeth inherited, cannot be prudently guessed at, and I have not yet found any complete

account on which I can rely It cost her, however, fifteen years of economy to pay them off

³ Queen Mary to the Aldermen of the City of London *MS. Ibid*

burnings had been suspended while Parliament was in session. On the 28th of March the work began again, and Cuthbert Simson, the minister of a Protestant congregation, was put to death in Smithfield, having been first racked to extort from him the names of his supporters;¹ on the same day Reginald Pole, to clear himself of the charge of heresy, sent a fresh commission to Harpsfeld, to purge the diocese of Canterbury;² and the people, sick to their very souls at the abominable spectacles which were thrust before them, sank into a sullen despondency.

The musters for Derbyshire were set down at fifteen hundred. Lord Shrewsbury raised four hundred from among his own dependents on his estates. The magistrates declared that, owing to dearth, want, and waste of means in the war of the last year, the 'poor little county' could provide but one hundred more.

The musters in Devonshire broke up and went to their homes. The musters in Lincolnshire mutinied. The ringleaders in both counties were immediately hanged,³ yet the loyalty was none the greater. The exiled divines in Germany, believing that the people were at last ripe for insurrection, called on them to rise and put down the tyranny which was crushing them. Goodman published a tract on the obedience of subjects, and John Knox blew his 'First Blast against the Monstrous Regimen of Women.' The Queen, as if
April

¹ FOXE BURNET

² STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. vi. p. 120

³ *Privy Council Register, MS. Mary*

ence, sent out a proclamation that any one who was found to have these books in his or her possession, or who, finding such books, did not instantly burn them, should be executed as a rebel by martial law¹ 'Affectionate as I be to my country and countrymen,' said Sir Thomas Smith, 'I was ashamed of both, they went about their matters as men amazed, that wist not where to begin or end And what marvel was it?' Here was nothing but firing, heading, hanging, quartering and burning, taxing and levying A few priests in white rochets ruled all, who with setting up of six-foot roods and rebuilding of roodlofts, thought to make all sure'

With the summer, fever and ague set in like a pestilence 'God did so punish the realm,' said Sir Thomas Smith again, 'with quartan agues, and with such other long and new sicknesses, that in the last two years of the reign of Queen Mary, so many of her subjects was made away, what with the execution of sword and fire, what by sicknesses, that the third part of the men of England were consumed'² In April the spring, the Queen, misled by the same symptoms which had deceived her before, had again fancied herself *enceinte* She made her will in the avowed expectation that she was about to undergo the perils of childbearing. She wrote for her husband to come to her She sent the fleet into the Channel, and

¹ Royal Proclamation, June 6, 1558 STRYPE'S *Memoirs*, vol vi., FOXE, vol xiii

² Oration on the Queen's Marriage STRYPE'S *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*

placed relays of horses along the roads to London from Dover and from Harwich, that he might choose at which port to land

Philip so far humoured the fancy, which he must have known*to be delusive, that he sent the Count de Feria to congratulate her Her letter, he said, contained the best news which he had heard since the loss of Calais. But the bubble broke soon Mary had parted from her husband on the 5th of the preceding July, and her suspense, therefore, was not long protracted It is scarcely necessary to say in what direction her second disappointment vented itself.

Cranmer alone hitherto had suffered after recantation, to others, pardon had continued to be offered to the last moment. But this poor mercy was now extinguished A man in Hampshire, named Bembridge, exclaimed at the point of execution that he would submit; a form was produced on the spot, which Bembridge signed, and the sheriff, Sir Richard Pexall, reprovved him by his own authority But a letter of council came instantly to Pexall, that 'the Queen's Majesty could not but find it very strange' that he had saved from punishment a man condemned for heresy the execution was to proceed out of hand; and 'if the prisoner continued in the Catholic faith, as he pretended, some discreet and learned man might be present with him in his death, for the aiding of him to die God's servant'¹ Bembridge was accordingly burnt, and

¹ *Privy Council Register, MS*

the sheriff, for the lenity which he had dared to show, was committed to the Fleet. Whole detachments of men and women were again slaughtered in London, and the Queen, exasperated at the determination with which the populace cheered the sufferers with their sympathy, sent out a proclamation forbidding her subjects to approach, touch, speak to, or comfort heretics on their way to execution, under pain of death. Shortly after, a congregation of Protestants were detected at a prayer-meeting in a field near the city, thirteen were taken as

June prisoners before Bonner, and seven were burnt at Smithfield together on the 28th of June.

The people replied to the Queen's menaces by crowding about the stake with passionate demonstration of affection, and Thomas Bentham, a friend of Lever the preacher, when the faggots were lighted, stood out in the presence of the throng, and cried.

'We know that they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them and say, God strengthen them God Almighty, for Christ's sake, strengthen them.'

The multitude shouted, in reply, 'Amen, Amen.'¹

Alarmed himself, this time, at the display of emotion, Bonner dared not outrage the metropolis with the deaths of the remaining six. Yet, not to let them escape him, he tried them privately in his own house at Fulham, and burnt them at Brentford at night in the darkness²

¹ Bentham to Lever STYKE'S *Memoirs*, vol vi

² 'This fact,' says Foxe, 'purchased him more hatred than any that he had done of the common people'

So fared the Protestants, murdered to propitiate Providence, and, if possible, extort for the Queen a return of the Divine favour. The alarm of invasion diminished as summer advanced. England had again a fleet upon the seas which feared no enemy, and could even act on the offensive. In May, two hundred and forty ships, large and small, were collected at Portsmouth;¹ and on the day of the burning at Brentford, accident gave a small squadron among them a share in a considerable victory.

Lord Clinton, who was now admiral in the place of Howard, after an ineffectual cruise in the south of the Channel, returned to Portsmouth on the 8th July. A few vessels remained in the neighbourhood of Calais, when M. de Thermes, whom the Duke of Guise left in command there, with the garrison of Boulogne, some levies collected in Picardy, and his own troops, in all about 9000 men, ventured an inroad into the Low Countries, took Dunkirk, and plundered it. Not caring to penetrate further, he was retreating with his booty, when Count Egmont, with a few thousand Burgundians and Flemings, cut in at Gravelines between the French and their own frontiers. They had no means of passing, except at low water, between the town of Gravelines and the sea, and the English ships, which were in communication with Egmont, stood in as near as they could venture, so as to command the sands.

¹ Swift to the Earl of Shrewsbury. LODGE'S *Illustrations*, vol. 1. p. 367. •

De Thermes, obliged to advance where the tide would permit him, dashed at the dangerous passage ; the guns of Gravelines on one side, the guns of the English vessels on the other, tore his ranks to pieces, and Egmont charging when their confusion was at its worst, the French were almost annihilated. Five thousand were killed, De Thermes himself, Senarpont of Boulogne, the Governor of Picardy, and many other men of note, were taken. If Clinton had been at hand with the strength of the fleet, and a dash had been made at Calais by land and sea, it would have been recovered more easily than it had been lost. But fortune had no such favour to bestow on Queen Mary. Clinton was still loitering at Spithead, and when news of the action came it was too late.

The plan of the naval campaign for the season was to attack Brest with the united strength of England and Flanders, and hold it as a security for the restoration of Calais at the peace. It was for the arrival of his allies that Clinton had been waiting, and it was only at the end of the month that the combined fleet, a hundred and forty sail, left Portsmouth for the coast of Brittany. They appeared duly off Brest ; yet, when their object was before them, they changed their minds on the feasibility of their enterprise, and leaving their original design, they landed a force at Conquêt, which they plundered and burnt, and afterwards destroyed some other villages in the neighbourhood. The achievement was not a very splendid one. Four or five hundred Flemings who ventured too far from the fleet were

cut off, and as the Duke d'Estampes was said to be coming up with 20,000 men, Clinton re-embarked his men in haste, returned to Portsmouth, after an ineffectual and merely mischievous demonstration, and then reported the sickness in the fleet so ^{August 24} considerable, that the operations for the season must be considered at an end.¹

In the mean time the contending princes in their own persons, Philip with the powers of the Low Countries and Spain, Henry with the whole available strength of France, sat watching each other in entrenched camps upon the Somme. The French King, with the recollection of St Quentin fresh upon him, would not risk a second such defeat. Philip would not hazard his late advantage by forcing an action which might lose for him all that he had gained. In the pause, the conviction came slowly over both, that there was no need for further bloodshed, and that the long, weary, profitless war might at last have an end. A mighty revolution had passed over Europe since Francis first led an army over the Alps. The world had passed into a new era; and the question of strength had to be tried, not any more between Spaniard and Frenchman, but between Protestant and Catholic. Already the disciples of Calvin threatened the Church of France; Holland was vexing the superstition of Philip, and the Protestants in Scotland were breaking from the hand of Mary of Guise: more and more the Catholic princes felt the want of a

¹ *MS Mary, Domestic*, vol. III

general council, that the questions of the day might be taken hold of firmly, and the Inquisition be set to work on some resolute principle of concert

Sept 21 In September, the Emperor passed away in his retirement at St Just With him perished the traditions and passions of which he was the last representative, and a new page was turning in the history of mankind Essential ground of quarrel between Henry and Philip there was none; the outward accidental ground—the claims on Milan and Naples, Savoy and Navarre—had been rendered easy of settlement by the conquest of Calais, and by the marriage which was consummated a few weeks after Guise's victory, between the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots.

Satisfied with the triumph of a policy which had annexed the crown of Scotland to France, and with having driven the English by main strength from their last foothold on French soil, Henry could now be content to evacuate Savoy and Piedmont, if Philip, on his side, would repeat the desertion of Crêpy, and having brought England into the war, would leave her to endure her own losses or avenge them by her single strength With this secret meaning on the part of France, an overture for a peace was commenced in the autumn of 1558, through the mediation of the Duchess of Lorraine An armistice was agreed upon, and the first conference was held at the abbey of Cercamp, where Arundel, Wotton, and Thirlby attended as the representatives of England

How far Philip would consent to an arrangement so

perfidious towards the country of which he was the nominal sovereign, depended, first, on the life of the Queen. The titular King of England could by no fiction or pretext relieve himself of the duties which the designation imposed upon him; and if the English were deserted their resentment would explode in a revolution of which Mary would be the instant victim¹.

Mary, indeed, would soon cease to be a difficulty. She was attacked in September by the fever which was carrying off so many of her subjects. The fresh disease aggravated her constitutional disorder, and her days were drawing fast to their end. But Philip's hold on England need not perish with the death of his wife, if he could persuade her sister to take her place. His policy, therefore, was for the present to linger out the negotiations, to identify in appearance his own and the English interests, and to wait the events of the winter.

At the opening of the Conference it was immediately evident that France would not part with Calais. The English commissioners had been ordered to take no part in the discussion, unless the restitution was agreed on as a preliminary; and when they made their demand, Henry replied that 'he would hazard his crown rather than forego his conquest.'² The resolution was expressed decisively, and they saw, or
October.
thought they saw, so much indifference in the Spanish

¹ Renard found it necessary to warn Philip of this, in a despatch written in October. *Granville Papers*, vol. v p. 225.

² Arundel, Thnlby, and Wotton to the Council. *French MSS* bundle 13.

representatives, that they at first intended to return to England on the spot.

‘To our minds,’ they wrote, ‘Calais is so necessary to be had again for the quieting of the world’s mind in England, and it should so much offend and exasperate England, if any peace was made without restitution of it, that, for our part, no earthly private commodity nor profit could induce us thereto, nor nothing could be more grievous to us than to be ministers therein’¹

They were on the point of departure, when a letter from Philip required them to remain at their posts. Contrary to their expectation, the King promised to support England in insisting on the restoration, and his own commissioners were instructed equally to agree to nothing unless it was conceded² Thus for a time the negotiation remained suspended till events should clear up the course which the different parties would follow

And these events, or the one great event, was now close, and the shadows were drawing down over the life of the unfortunate Mary. Amidst discontent and misery at home, disgrace and failure abroad, the fantastic comparisons, the delirious analogies, the child which was to be born of the Virgin Mary for the salvation of mankind—where were now these visionary and humiliating dreams?

On the 6th of October, the privy council were sum-

¹ Arundel, Thirlby, and Wotton to the Council *French MSS*, bundle 13

² Philip to the English Ambassador, October 30 *French MSS*, bundle 13

moned to London 'for great and urgent affairs.' At the beginning of November three men and two women suffered at Canterbury. They ^{November} were the last who were put to death, and had been presented by Pole in person to be visited 'with condign punishment'¹ On the 5th, Parliament met, and the promised second subsidy was demanded, but the session was too brief for a resolution. The Queen's life, at the time of the opening, was a question perhaps of hours, at most of days, and aware of what was impending, Philip despatched the Count de Feria to her with a desire that she should offer no objections to the succession of Elizabeth.

The count reached London on the 9th of November. He was admitted to an interview, and the Queen, too brave to repine at what was now inevitable, and anxious to the last to please her husband, declared herself 'well content' that it should be as he wished, she entreated only that her debts might be paid, and that 'religion' should not be changed.

Leaving Mary's deathbed, De Feria informed the council of the King's request, and from the council hastened to the house of Lord Clinton, a few miles from London, where Elizabeth was staying. In Philip's name, he informed her that her succession was assured; his master had used his influence in her favour, and no opposition need be anticipated.

Elizabeth listened graciously. That Philip's serv-

¹ 'Condigna animadversione plectendos'—WILKINS's *Concilia*, vol. 17

ices to her, however, had been so considerable as De Feria told her, she was unable to allow. She admitted, and admitted thankfully, the good offices which he had shown to her when she was at Woodstock. She was perhaps ignorant that it was for the safety of Philip's life that her own had been so nearly sacrificed; that Philip's interest in her succession had commenced only when his own appeared impossible. But she knew how narrow had been her escape; she had neither forgotten her danger, nor ceased to resent her treatment. It was to the people of England, she told the Count, that she owed her real gratitude. The people had saved her from destruction; the people had prevented her sister from changing the settlement of the crown. She would be the people's Queen, and she would reign in the people's interest.

De Feria feared, from what she said, that 'in religion she would not go right.' The ladies by whom she was surrounded were suspected; Sir William Cecil, whose conformity was as transparent then as it is now, would be her principal secretary, and the Count observed, with a foreboding of evil, that 'she had an admiration for the King her father's mode of ruling;' and that of the legate she spoke with cold severity.¹

It is possible that Pole was made acquainted with Elizabeth's feelings towards him. To himself personally, those feelings were of little moment, for he, too, like the Queen, was dying—dying to be spared a second

¹ Report of the Count de Feria. TYTLER, vol. II p. 494. *Memorial of the Duchess of Feria, MS*, quoted by Lingard.

exile, and the wretchedness of seeing with his eyes the dissolution of the phantom fabric which he had given the labours of his life to build.

Yet what he did not live to behold he could not have failed to anticipate. The spirit of Henry VIII was rising from the grave to scatter his work to all the winds, while he, the champion of Heaven, the destroyer of heresy, was lying himself under a charge of the same crime, with the Pope for his accuser. Without straining too far the license of imagination, we may believe that the disease which was destroying him was chiefly a broken heart. But it was painful to him to lie under the ill opinion of the person who was so soon to be on the throne of England; and possibly he wished to leave her, as a legacy, the warning entreaties of a dying man.

Three days after De Feria's visit, therefore, Pole sent the Dean of Worcester to Elizabeth with a message, the import of which is unknown, and a short letter, as the Dean's credentials, saying only that the legate desired, before he should depart, to leave all persons satisfied of him, and especially her Grace¹

This was the 14th of November. The same day, or the day after, a lady-in-waiting carried the Queen's last wishes to her successor. They were the same which she had already mentioned to De Feria—that her debts

¹ *Cotton MS Vespasian F 3.* The letter is written in a shaking hand. The address is lost, and being dated the 14th of November, while Mary was still alive, it has been described as to her and not to her sister. But an endorsement 'From the Queen's Majesty at Hatfield,' leaves no doubt to whom it was written.

should be paid, and that the Catholic religion might be maintained, with an additional request that her servants should be properly cared for.¹ Then, taking leave of a world in which she had played so ill a part, she prepared, with quiet piety, for the end. On the 16th, at midnight, she received the last rites of the Church. Towards morning, as she was sinking, mass was said at her bedside. At the elevation of the Host, unable to speak or move, she fixed her eyes upon the body of her Lord; and as the last words of the benediction were uttered, her head sunk, and she was gone.

Nov 17 A few hours later, at Lambeth, Pole followed her, and the reign of the Pope in England, and the reign of terror, closed together.

No English sovereign ever ascended the throne with larger popularity than Mary Tudor. The country was eager to atone to her for her mother's injuries, and the instinctive loyalty of the English towards their natural sovereign was enhanced by the abortive efforts of Northumberland to rob her of her inheritance. She had reigned little more than five years, and she descended into the grave amidst curses deeper than the acclamations which had welcomed her accession. In that brief time she had swathed her name in the horrid epithet which will cling to it for ever; and yet from the passions which in general tempt sovereigns into

¹ Among the apocryphal or vaguely attested anecdotes of the end of Mary, she is reported to have said, that if her body was opened, Calais would be found written on her

heart. The story is not particularly characteristic, but having come somehow into existence, there is no reason why it should not continue to be believed.

crime, she was entirely free to the time of her accession she had lived a blameless, and, in many respects, a noble life, and few men or women have lived less capable of doing knowingly a wrong thing

Philip's conduct, which could not extinguish her passion for him, and the collapse of the inflated imaginations which had surrounded her supposed pregnancy, it can hardly be doubted, affected her sanity. Those forlorn hours when she would sit on the ground with her knees drawn to her face; those restless days and nights when, like a ghost, she would wander about the palace galleries, rousing herself only to write tear-blotted letters to her husband; those bursts of fury over the libels dropped in her way, or the marchings in procession behind the Host in the London streets—these are all symptoms of hysterical derangement, and leave little room, as we think of her, for other feelings than pity. But if Mary was insane, the madness was of a kind which placed her absolutely under her spiritual directors, and the responsibility for her cruelties, if responsibility be anything but a name, rests first with Gardiner, who commenced them, and, secondly, and in a higher degree, with Reginald Pole. Because Pole, with the council, once interfered to prevent an imprudent massacre in Smithfield; because, being legate, he left the common duties of his diocese to subordinates, he is not to be held innocent of atrocities which could neither have been commenced nor continued without his sanction, and he was notoriously the one person in the council whom the Queen absolutely trusted. The

revenge of the clergy for their past humiliations, and the too natural tendency of an oppressed party to abuse suddenly recovered power, combined to originate the Marian persecution. The rebellions and massacres, the political scandals, the universal suffering throughout the country during Edward's minority, had created a general bitterness in all classes against the Reformers, the Catholics could appeal with justice to the apparent consequences of heretical opinions, and when the Reforming preachers themselves denounced so loudly the irreligion which had attended their success, there was little wonder that the world took them at their word, and was ready to permit the use of strong suppressive measures to keep down the unruly tendencies of uncontrolled fanatics.

But neither these nor any other feelings of English growth, could have produced the scenes which have stamped this unhappy reign with a character so frightful. The Parliament which re-enacted the Lollard statutes, had refused to restore the Six Articles as being too severe, yet under the Six Articles twenty-one persons only suffered in six years, while, perhaps, not twice as many more had been executed under the earlier acts in the century and a half in which they had stood on the Statute roll. The harshness of the law confined the action of it to men who were definitely dangerous, and when the bishops' powers were given back to them, there was little anticipation of the manner in which those powers would be misused.

And that except from some special influences they

would not have been thus misused, the local character of the persecution may be taken to prove The storm was violent only in London, in Essex, which was in the diocese of London, and in Canterbury It raged long after the death of Gardiner, and Gardiner, though he made the beginning, ceased after the first few months to take further part in it The Bishop of Winchester would have had a persecution, and a keen one, but the fervour of others left his lagging zeal far behind For the first and last time the true Ultramontane spirit was dominant in England; the genuine conviction that, as the orthodox prophets and sovereigns of Israel slew the worshippers of Baal, so were Catholic rulers called upon, as their first duty, to extirpate heretics as the enemies of God and man

The language of the legate to the City of London shows the devout sincerity with which he held that opinion himself Through him, and sustained by his authority, the Queen held it, and by these two the ecclesiastical government of England was conducted

Archbishop Parker, who succeeded Pole at Canterbury, and had therefore the best opportunity of knowing what his conduct had really been, called him *Carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, the hangman and the scourge of the Church of England. His character was unrepachable, in all the virtues of the Catholic Church he walked without spot or stain, and the system to which he had surrendered himself had left to him of the common selfishnesses of mankind his enormous vanity alone. But that system had extinguished also in him

the human instincts, the genial emotions by which theological theories stand especially in need to be corrected. He belonged to a class of persons at all times numerous, in whom enthusiasm takes the place of understanding; who are men of an 'idea,' and unable to accept human things as they are, are passionate loyalists, passionate churchmen, passionate revolutionists, as the accidents of their age may determine. Happily for the welfare of mankind, persons so constituted rarely arrive at power: should power come to them, they use it, as Pole used it, to defeat the ends which are nearest to their hearts.

The teachers who finally converted the English nation to Protestantism were not the declaimers from the pulpit, nor the voluminous controversialists with the pen. These, indeed, could produce arguments which, to those who were already convinced, seemed as if they ought to produce conviction, but conviction did not follow till the fruits of the doctrine bore witness to the spirit from which it came. The evangelical teachers, caring only to be allowed to develop their own opinions, and persecute their opponents, had walked hand in hand with men who had spared neither tomb nor altar, who had stripped the lead from the church roofs, and stolen the bells from the church towers; and between them they had so outraged such plain honest minds as remained in England, that had Mary been content with mild repression, had she left the Pope to those who loved him, and married, instead of Philip, some English lord, the mass would have retained its place, the clergy

in moderate form would have resumed their old authority, and the Reformation would have waited for a century. In an evil hour, the Queen listened to the unwise advisers, who told her that moderation in religion was the sin of the Laodiceans, and while the fanatics who had brought scandal on the Reforming cause, either truckled like Shaxton, or stole abroad to wrangle over surplices and forms of prayer, the true and the good atoned with their lives for the crimes of others, and vindicated a noble cause by nobly dying for it.

And while among the Reformers that which was most bright and excellent shone out with preternatural lustre, so were the Catholics permitted to exhibit also the preternatural features of the creed which was expiring.

Although Pole and Mary could have laid their hands on earl and baron, knight and gentleman, whose heresy was notorious, although in the Queen's own guard there were many who never listened to a mass,¹ they dared not strike where there was danger that they would be struck in return. They went out into the highways and hedges, they gathered up the lame, the halt, and the blind, they took the weaver from his loom, the carpenter from his workshop, the husbandman from his plough, they laid hands on maidens and boys 'who had never heard of any other religion than that which they were called on to abjure;' ² old men tottering into the grave, and children whose lips could but just hush the

¹ UNDERHILL'S *Narrative*

² RULGULEY'S *Execution of Justice*

articles of their creed; and of these they made their burnt-offerings; with these they crowded their prisons, and when filth and famine killed them, they flung them out to rot. How long England would have endured the repetition of the horrid spectacles is hard to say. The persecution lasted three years, and in that time something less than 300 persons were burnt at the stake¹. 'By imprisonment,' said Lord Burghley, 'by torment, by famine, by fire, almost the number of 400 were,' in their various ways, 'lamentably destroyed.'

Yet, as has been already said, interference was impossible except by armed force. The country knew from the first that by the course of nature the period of cruelty must be a brief one, it knew that a successful rebellion is at best a calamity; and the bravest and wisest men would not injure an illustrious cause by conduct less than worthy of it, so long as endurance was possible. They had saved Elizabeth's life and Elizabeth's rights, and Elizabeth, when her time came, would deliver her subjects. The Catholics, therefore, were permitted to continue their cruelties till the cup of iniquity was full; till they had taught the educated laity of England to regard them with horror; and till the Romanist superstition had died, amidst the execrations of the people, of its own excess.

¹ The number is variously computed at 270, 280, and 290

CHAPTER XXXVI

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH.

QUEEN MARY ceased to breathe an hour ¹⁵⁵⁸ before daylight on Thursday the 17th of Nov^r 17 November Parliament opened as usual at eight for the morning session, when a message from the Peers required the immediate presence of the Commons. As they appeared at the bar of the Upper House, the Chancellor Archbishop Heath rose and said—

‘The cause of your calling hither at this time is to signify to you that all the lords here present are certainly certified that God this present morning hath called to His mercy our late Sovereign Lady Queen Mary, which loss, as it is most heavy and grievous to us, so have we no less cause another way to rejoice with praise to Almighty God, for that He hath left unto us a true lawful and right inheretress to the crown of this realm, which is the Lady Elizabeth, second daughter to our late Sovereign Lord of noble memory King Henry the Eighth and sister to our late said Queen; of whose most lawful right and title in the succession of the

Crown, thanks be to God! we need not to doubt. Wherefore the lords of this House have determined, with your assents and consents, to pass from hence to the palace, and there to proclaim the said Lady Elizabeth Queen of this realm without further tract of time'

The Commons answered, 'God save Queen Elizabeth! long may she reign over us!' The vacancy of the throne had dissolved Parliament; and at once, while it was still morning, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Shrewsbury, and Lord Bedford rode through London with the heralds, making known from Palace Yard to the Tower the change which had passed over the realm.

The proclamation had been sketched in haste by Sir William Cecil. It declared Elizabeth 'the only right heir by blood and lawful succession,' and charged all persons of every degree, under pain of the new Queen's indignation, to keep themselves quiet, and under no pretence to break the order of the established law.

In the sudden snapping of the chain which had bound them there was a fear that the citizens might be tempted into dangerous excesses.

But for a moment the past was forgotten in the present. The bells which six years before had rung in triumph for Mary's accession now pealed as merrily for her death. The voices which had shouted themselves hoarse in execrations on Northumberland were now as loud in ecstasy that the miserable reign was at an end. Through the November day steeple answered steeple; the streets were spread with tables, and as the twilight

closed blazed as before with bonfires. The black dominion of priests and priestcraft had rolled away, like night before the coming of the dawn. Elizabeth, the people's idol, dear to them for her sister's hatred, the morning star of England's hope, was Queen.

So deep had been the indignation at the Smithfield cruelties, so intense the national humiliation at the loss of Calais, that Catholics and Protestants forgot their animosities in the prospect of change. Elizabeth was the favourite daughter of Henry, whose character she was supposed to inherit, and whose reign was the last bright spot on which the nation looked back with pride. The Reformers saw in her their child and pupil, whose life had all but paid the forfeit of her fidelity to their instructions, in her ultimate submission and conformity the orthodox found a guarantee that they need not fear from her a return to revolutionary fanaticism, while, as Philip had declared in her favour, the Conservative peers and statesmen, who inherited the national traditions, supported her as the best security for the maintenance of the Spanish alliance and for the protection of the country against foreign invasion. One rival only possessed claims which would bear inspection. But Mary Stuart was Dauphiness of France. In the possible eventual union of the crowns of Scotland, France, and England, the politicians of Spain and the Low Countries saw their own ruin, and even in religion, however uncertain they might feel as to her real convictions, Elizabeth seemed preferable to the daughter-in-law of the sovereign who had fostered Wyatt's insur-

rection, and taught every Catholic in the realm to fear and hate him. Philip therefore having failed to secure the entail of the crown for himself, had signified his desire, through the Count de Feria, for the undisputed succession of his sister-in-law. And though Philip had left behind him no single personal friend, his position as England's solitary ally, as the most powerful sovereign in Europe, and as the most faithful servant of the Church, gave him still weight in the council, and an authority almost absolute among the sincere and earnest Catholics.¹

Elizabeth herself he trusted that he could bind by gratitude, if not by a closer tie.² That a young unmarried woman in a situation so critical should choose

¹ 'No tiene su Majestad en todo el Reyno hombre á su devocion, pero la parte de los Católicos entiendo todavia que el bien y conservacion de la religion consiste en la ayuda y asistencia que su Majestad los quisiere hacer, en laqual parece que van colocando todas sus esperanças y remedio. Porque entienden si el Rey de Francia metiese aqui el pie, se perderia lo espiritual y temporal del Reyno, porque saben que no curarian sino de desherutarlos y traerlos en su sujecion, sin atender á lo de la religion.'—Memorial del Conde de Feria *MS Simancas*

'Los Católicos que hay en este Reyno, que son muchos tienen puesta toda su esperanza en V M^a, y es cosa estraña la cuenta que tienen con saber que hago yo y quando el ne-

gocio hubiese de venir á los manos V M^a tendria esta parte por suya, porque piensan que seran perdidos si el Rey de Francia mete aqui el pie.'—De Feria to Philip, January 31, 1559 *MS. Ibid*

² The recent connection between the English Protestants and the Court of France was so considerable, and so notorious, that Philip attempted to make Elizabeth suspicious of them by dwelling upon it. 'Mirad si convendria decir tan bien á la Reyna que tenga sospechosa á la parte de los creges, porque aquellos tienen mas platca los Franceses, y confian mas dellos. y que los Católicos nunca se fiaran de Franceses.'—Philip to De Feria, February *MS Ibid*

a course and policy of her own was the one possibility which neither he nor any one else anticipated. Her conduct, he naturally supposed, would be dictated by the husband to whom she would immediately be allied; and the choice of the person he conceived to rest with himself.

Alone among the Catholic leaders, Reginald Pole shared the ineradicable suspicion with which Elizabeth had been regarded by her sister. But Pole was on his death-bed when Mary died. Among the last sounds which fell upon his ears must have been the bells of Westminster ringing the knell of the cause to which he had sacrificed his life, and before the evening he too had passed away—a blighted, brokenhearted man, detested by those whom he had laboured most anxiously to serve.¹ Singled out, in connection with Bonner, for the especial aversion of the new Queen, he was taken away in mercy to escape a second exile, or the living death of the Tower.²

Thus it was that Elizabeth was welcomed to the throne without a dissentient voice, and perhaps without a dissentient heart, save only among the fanatic ecclesiastics, whose bloody work was at an end. And yet her

¹ 'Muño á noche El día que falleció su Maj^d sus cuidados pusieron mala guardi para encubirle la muerte de la Reyna, y la pena que recibio ciego que abrevió la suya Dios le hizo misericordia en llevarle, y V^{ra} M^d perdió muy poco en el'—D^a Feria to Philip *MS* Ibid

'Este maldito Cardinal,' Du Feria calls him elsewhere—De Feria to Philip *MS* *Smanca*

² 'Con el Cardinal (la Reyna) esta malvamente y comenzo mi a contar los enojos que la habia hecho'—Ibid

position was beyond example difficult, difficult at the best—more difficult tenfold, if she cared to act on any deeper principle than the immediate expediency of the moment

Statesmen who remembered the resources at the command of Henry the Eighth when, twenty years before, he had built fortresses round the coast out of the spoils of the monasteries, and had replied to the menaced coalition between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First by calling the united nation under arms, must have felt mournfully how keen was the contrast with the ruined inheritance of his daughter

The war in which Henry's reign had closed had left a legacy of debt behind it, for which the capture of Boulogne had poorly compensated. The minority of Edward had been a time of mere thriftless waste and plunder, while east, west, north, and south the nation had been shaken by civil commotions. The economy with which Mary had commenced had been sacrificed to superstition, and what the hail had left the locusts had eaten. She had brought herself to believe that the confiscation of the abbey lands had forfeited the favour of Heaven, and stripping the already embarrassed crown of half its remaining revenues to re-establish the clergy, she had sacrificed, at the same time, the interests of England to her affection for her husband, and forced the nation into a war in which they had neither object to gain nor injury to redress. She had extorted subsidies only to encounter shame and defeat, and in the midst of the general exasperation at the disgrace which had fallen

upon England, she had allowed Philip to avail himself of the scanty revenues of the treasury, and had made him a present of unknown thousands of pounds, with valuable jewels of the crown ¹

Although the country was financially ruined, there was still the land, and there were still the people to fall back upon; but in the last two sad years, famine and plague had been added to other causes of suffering, and the long gaps in the muster rolls told a fearful tale of the ravages which they had made. The revolt of the Commons under Edward had led also to a general disarmament. The art of war was changing; and the English peasantry, so far from having been taught the use of harquebuss and pistol, were no longer familiar even with their own bows and bills. Themselves untrained and undrilled, their natural leaders the young men of family had been entangled one side or other in rebellion or conspiracy, and had been executed or driven into exile. The nobility were scanty and weak. The new owners of the soil, the middle classes who had risen to wealth on the dissolution of the monasteries, were unwarlike men of business, given merely to sheep farming and making money. The peasantry hated them as the chief enclosers of the commons; the Crown and the lords

¹ 'Se quejó Isabel al Conde de Feria que sabia que el Rey le habia dado grandes sumas de dinero. Contradijó lo el conde pero en el hecho era verdad que la Reyna Maria le habia dado de una vez siete mil libras y algunas joyas de valor para pagar ciertas tropas Alemannas'—
De Feria to Philip, November 21
MS. Swanwick
It was believed in London, that shortly before her death Mary had sent Philip as much as 200,000 ducats.

despised them as the creation of a new age, while as evading in all ways the laws of military tenure, and regarding their estates as a commercial speculation for the building up of their private fortunes, they were looked on by the Englishmen of the old order of things as poisonous mushrooms, the unwholesome outcome of the diseases of the age.

‘The wealth of the meaner sort,’ wrote a correspondent of Sir William Cecil, ‘is the very fount of rebellion, the occasion of their insolence, of the contempt of the nobility, and of the hatred they have conceived against them. It must be cured by keeping them in awe through the severity of justice, and by providing as it were of some sewers or channels to draw and suck from them their money by subtle and indirect means’¹

On all sides the ancient organization of the country was out of joint. The fortresses from Berwick to Falmouth, although in the preceding summer some faint efforts had been made to repair them, were half in ruins, dismantled, and ungarrisoned. The Tower was as empty of arms as the treasury of money. The volunteer fleet which had been called together for the ineffectual demonstration against Brest was scattered, and thus bare of the very necessities for self-defence, the Queen found herself with a war upon her hands which the experience of Crêpy made her fear that she might be left to endure alone, with Calais lost, the

¹ ‘The distresses of the Commonwealth, with the means to remedy them, addressed to the Lords of the Council, December, 1558’—*Domestic MS., Elizabeth,* vol. 1

French in full possession of Scotland, where they were fast transporting an army, and with a rival claimant to her crown whose right by the letter of the law was better than her own ¹

Her position and the position of England were summed up in a few pregnant sentences. 'The Queen poor; the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed; good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order; justice not executed, all things dear, excesses in meat, diet, and apparel, division among ourselves, war with France; the French King bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland, steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends' ²

Beyond all these political difficulties, and at the heart and root of them, lay the differences of religion. The alternate supremacy of the two extreme parties had taught the nation to loathe them equally. Yet men were in that strange state that they still believed in the necessity of some defined conviction. They believed it

¹ 'The waies have consumed our captains, men, money, victuals, and have lost Calais. The axe and the gallows have taken away some of our captains. It is necessary, that in every shire, at the towns' charge, there might be discipline and exercises used to prepare and frame the rude men into captains and soldiers, to serve in case of need. All other plagues that before and since the death of good King Edward have happened unto us, have been in respect tolerable, and as it were but preludes of one great and grievous

plague to come. The loss of Calais is the beginning of the same great plague, for it has introduced the French King within the threshold of our house, so as now or else never your honours must bestir you and meet with this mischief. Else, if God stant not forth to the helm, we be at the point of greatest misery that can happen to any people, which is to become thrall to a foreign nation'—Address to the Council
Domestic MS

² Ibid

still to be their duty to profess, as a Christian people, a national creed, while yet there was no third form of opinion visible to them on which they could rest with security. Happily there was one point on which, with but few exceptions, all sides were united—the dread and hatred of those ecclesiastical tribunals whose yoke had been broken by Henry, and who had so fearfully abused their recovered power

A bishop's chancellor sitting in court and proceeding *ex-officio*, unrestrained by statute or common law, and enabled at all times to command the services of the secular arm, was the incarnate representative of iniquity. No fireside was safe from the intrusion of his familiars. No act, no word, was so innocent but that it could be construed into a crime, and the conduct of the priests in the three last years showed that they had learnt from their humiliations only a lesson of revenge. Towards them and their doings there was no doubt at all of the feeling of the English laity. As it had been in the days of Cromwell so it remained—an irrepressible detestation and scorn

Here however unanimity was at an end. The secular power of the priesthood was no necessary adjunct of the Catholic faith. The accession of Mary had found the new opinions equally dishonoured by tyranny; and if the reaction had not stained itself with crimes beside which the iniquities of the Duke of Northumberland looked pale, the profession of Protestantism as a positive creed would have been confined to a minority, strong in the fire and force of their convictions, but numerically

small and politically weak. But the fanaticism of the Catholic clergy had discredited their doctrines and forfeited for them the confidence of moderate and reasonable men. They had clutched so passionately at the privileges to which they pretended that their theories entitled them, they had betrayed so incautiously their unslaked thirst for power, for wealth, for blood, that the world was taking them at their word, and judging the tree by its fruits. Their foreign policy had been as unfortunate as their domestic administration had been cruel. A blight as if from heaven had rested on them and their deeds, and thus the teaching of the Reformers which had passed away like a dream was beginning to find its way into men's minds again. The figures of the murdered Cranmer and his fellow-sufferers stood out against the dark background of those wretched times as the victims of an accursed tyranny, and with the halo of martyrdom shining round them, they became silent preachers of righteousness, more effective in death than in life. While, again, the reformed opinions had this advantage, equivalent at the bottom of it to certain eventual victory. However men might argue and wrangle, however they might persuade themselves that they believed what they did not believe, Catholicism had ceased to be the expression of the true conviction of sensible men on the relation between themselves and heaven. Credible to the student in the cloister, credible to those whose thoughts were but echoes of tradition, it was not credible any more to men of active and original vigour of understanding. Credible to the uneducated, the eccentric,

the imaginative, the superstitious; credible to those who reasoned by sentiment, and made syllogisms of their passions; it was incredible then and evermore to the sane and healthy intelligence which in the long run commands the mind of the world . . .

In the long run—yet the force which eventually maintains the ascendancy is the slowest in rising to it. The strongest nations are the most reluctant to change, and in England especially, opinions, customs, laws, hold their ground because they exist, although their logical defences may have long crumbled to pieces, and their warmest friends may have long ceased to plead for them. Healthy people live and think more by habit than by reason, and it is only at rare intervals that they are content to submit their institutions to theoretic revision. The interval of change under Edward the Sixth had not shaken the traditionary attachment of the English squires and peasantry to the service of their ancestors. The Protestants were confined chiefly to the great towns and seaports; and those who deprecated doctrinal alteration, either from habit, prudence, or the mere instinct of conservatism, still constituted two-thirds, perhaps three-fourths, of the entire people.¹ They were willing to resume the tithes and first-fruits which Mary had restored, to revise the relations with the Pope, to suppress the re-established monasteries; a cautious adviser

¹ 'In perusing the sentences of the Justices of the Peace in all counties of the realm, scantily a third part was found fully assumed to be trusted in the matter of religion'—Note on the State of the Realm, in the hand of Sir William Cecil—*Cotton. MSS., CALIG B 10.*

suggested that it might be even possible to expel the bishops from the House of Lords, take from them their palaces, their lands, their titles, and reduce them to stipendiaries of the Crown.¹ yet the same writer thought it eminently dangerous to meddle with the established creed.

Such was the condition of England, and such the humour of the English people, when Elizabeth, a young untried woman of twenty-five, was intrusted with their destiny. Every course open to her was beset with objections. She could not stand still, she could move in no direction without offence to some one; and she herself in her own internal uncertainties was a type of the people whom she was set to rule. She had been educated in a confused Protestantism which had evaded doctrinal difficulties, and had confined itself chiefly to anathemas of Rome. Left to herself on her father's death, while the Anglican divines had developed into Calvinism, Elizabeth had inclined to Luther and the Augsburg Confession. For herself she would have been contented to accept the formulas which had been left by her father, with an English ritual, and the communion service of the first Prayer-book of Edward the Sixth.

¹ 'Peradventure it was not amiss as the time and things would suffer, to take from all your bishops the titles of lords, with their places in Parliament, remitting them to the House of Convocation, with all their temporal lands and stately houses—to give to the archbishops a thousand pounds per annum in special-

ties out of the shire where they reside—to the bishops a thousand marks per annum in specialties—and the temporalities to be given to noblemen having need of the same'—*Distress of the Commonwealth*, December, 1558 *MS. Domestic, Elizabeth, Rolls House*

But the sacramentarian tendencies of English Protestant theology had destroyed Henry's standing ground as a position which the Reformers could be brought to accept. It was to deny transubstantiation that the martyrs had died. It was in the name and in defence of the mass that Mary and Pole had exercised their savage despotism. Elizabeth had borne her share of persecution; she resented with the whole force of her soul the indignities to which she had been exposed, and she sympathized with those who had suffered at her side. She was the idol of the young, the restless, the enthusiastic, her name had been identified with freedom, and she detested more sincerely than any theologian living, the perversity which treated opinion as a crime. In her speculative theories she was nearer to Rome than to Calvinism. In her vital convictions she represented the free proud spirit of the educated laity, who would endure no dictation from priests of either persuasion, and so far as lay in them, would permit no clergy any more to fetter the thoughts and paralyze the energies of England.

With such views it was impossible for her to sanction permanently the establishment of a doctrine from which the noblest of her subjects had revolted, or to alienate the loyalty of the party who in her hour of danger had been her most ardent friends.

What she would do those most interested conjectured by their wishes. The Protestants expected a good time when they could score out their wrongs on Bonner and Harpsfeld, and institute their crusade against idolatry. Philip of Spain flattered himself that Elizabeth, what-

ever her wishes, would recognize her weakness, lean for support on him and his friends, and by a convenient marriage be secured to the Catholic confederacy. He had sent the Count de Feria to be at her side at the crisis of her accession, and it is clear that he entertained no sort of misgiving that she would not act as he might dictate or desire.

De Feria himself thought otherwise. Connected by marriage with the great English Catholic families (he had married the daughter of Sir William Dormer, one of Mary's maids of honour), the Spanish minister had access to the under-currents of Court intrigue, and from his own personal impressions he anticipated evil. In her first interview with him before her sister's death, Elizabeth had spoken with admiration of the Government of Henry the Eighth. The ladies of her household were 'suspect' of heresy, and 'every schismatic and traitor in the realm seemed to have risen from the grave to flock about her'¹ She spoke favourably to him indeed of Heath the Chancellor, of Paget, Petre, and Mason, all of whom had been on the council of Mary, and were either Catholics, or politically disinclined to change; yet she had no near relation to guide her, and she talked as if she intended to act on her own judgment. Her more chosen intimacies were with the younger noblemen 'gentlemen abandoned all of them,' De Feria admitted, 'to the new religion,'²—persons like

¹ De Feria to Philip, November, 1558. GONZALEZ

² 'En la nobleza todos los mozos estan dañados de eregias'—De Feria to Philip *MS Simancas*.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Peter Carew, Sir John Harrington, and Lord Bedford,—and the most dangerous of this party for his virtues and his genius, Sir William Cecil, she had chosen for her secretary.¹

To Cecil indeed it was that Elizabeth² had turned with exceptional and solitary confidence. He had received her instructions beforehand how to act; and while she herself remained at Hatfield, he assumed, without waiting to communicate with her, the instant direction of the Government. Within an hour of Mary's death he had sketched the form of the proclamation. The same day he changed the guard at the Tower. The ports were closed. Couriers sped east, west, north, and south, to Brussels, to Vienna, to Venice, to Denmark. The wardens of the marches were charged to watch the Northern Border. Before the evening of the 17th of November, the garrisons on the Kent and Sussex shores had trimmed their beacons and looked to their arms. A safe preacher was selected for the Sunday's sermon at Paul's Cross, 'that no occasion might be given to stir any dispute touching the governance of the realm.'²

The next step, characteristic both of Cecil and his mistress, was to staunch the wounds, without the delay of a moment, through which the exchequer was bleeding to death. More than 200,000*l* was now owing to the Flanders Jews, bearing interest of 14 and 15 per

¹ 'Cecil qui fué secretario del Rey Eduardo me han dicho cierto que sera secretario de Madame Isabel. Este dicen que es hombre entendido y virtuoso pero herege'—

De Feria to Philip, November, 1558
GONZALEZ

² Memoranda in Cecil's hand, November 17, 1558 *MS Domestic Elizabeth*, vol 1. *Rolls House*

cent., and money was wanted for immediate expenses. The accounts were in confusion. The thoughts of Mary and those about her had been absorbed in higher considerations, and two of the last bonds which had been lying in her room for signature had been used by the women in 'curing the corpse'.¹ On the 18th Sir Thomas Gresham accompanied Cecil to Hatfield, received his instructions from Elizabeth herself, and departed for Antwerp on the instant to raise an immediate loan, and to reside there afterwards, till by humouring the merchants by honest payments and by tricks of finance, he could clear the black incubus away.

Meanwhile, peers, courtiers, knights, and gentlemen, rode down to do homage and congratulate. By Saturday night the privy council with every statesman of any side or party of name or note had collected at Hatfield. On Sunday the 20th Elizabeth gave her first reception in the Hall. The oaths of allegiance Nov 20 were sworn; the promises of faithful service official and private were duly offered and graciously accepted. The Queen then stood forward and said a few words —

'My Lords,

'The laws of nature move me to sorrow for my sister, the burden that has fallen upon me maketh me amazed, and yet considering I am God's creature ordained to obey his appointment I will thereto yield. desiring from the bottom of my heart that I may have

¹ *MS Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol 1. *Rolls House*

assistance of his grace, to be the ministers of his heavenly will in the office now committed to me And as I am but one body naturally considered, though by his permission a body politic to govern, so shall I desire you all, my Lords, chiefly you of the nobility, every one in his degree and power to be assistant to me, that I with my ruling and you with your service may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth.

‘I mean to direct all my actions by good advice and counsel. And therefore, considering that divers of you be of the ancient nobility, having your beginnings and estates of my progenitors, kings of this realm, and thereby ought in honour to have the more natural care for maintaining of my estate and this Commonwealth, that some others have been of long experience in governance, and enabled by my father of noble memory, my brother, and my late sister, to bear office, the rest of you being upon special trust lately called to her service; my meaning is to require of you all nothing more but faithful hearts in such service as from time to time shall be in your powers towards the preservation of me and this Commonwealth And for counsel and advice, I shall accept you of my nobility, and such others of you the rest as in consultation I shall think meet and shortly appoint; to the which also I will join to their aid and for ease of their burden, others meet for my service And they which I shall not appoint, let them not think the same for any disability in them, but for that I consider a multitude doth make rather

discord and confusion than good counsel. And of my good will you shall not doubt, using yourselves as appertaineth to good and loving subjects '¹

Nothing definite had been said; yet the words seemed to imply that the Queen did not contemplate immediate or sweeping change. The Lords withdrew. Pembroke, Clinton, Lord William Howard, and Sir Ralph Sadler, remained in the Hall. Sir Thomas Parry was admitted as Controller of the Household. Cecil took the oaths as Secretary, and when he was led up to Elizabeth she said to him,—

'I give you this charge that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State; and that without respect of my private will you will give me that counsel that you think best and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared unto me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein.'²

Two days later the Court removed to London. The last time that Elizabeth had travelled that road she was carried in a litter as a prisoner, could her sister's lawyers so compass it, to die upon the scaffold. Times had

¹ Words spoken by the Queen to the Lords, November 20, 1558. *MS Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 1

² Words spoken by Her Majesty to Sir William Cecil, November 20, 1558. *Domestic MS, Elizabeth*, vol. i.

changed. Her sister's bishops came to meet her at Highgate. They were admitted to kiss hands—all except one—but from Bonner's lips she shrank as if contaminated by their approach, and in that evidence of her temper they read all their coming fate. No formal alteration could be ventured till the meeting of Parliament; but every hour brought with it some new indication that the moments were numbered of ecclesiastical dominion. Silently and swiftly the privy council was transformed. Montague, Englefield, Cornwallis, Boxall, Peckham—bigoted Catholics, and Mary's personal friends—withdraw or were removed. Even Paget, the most moderate of the opponents of change, was allowed to plead infirmity and retire, while the vacant places were filled by Bedford, Northampton, and the Puritan Sir Francis Knolles. The Archbishop of York, in spite of Elizabeth's regard for him, ceased to be Chancellor. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, was made Lord Keeper; and within a week or two the alterations were going on so fast that 'fathers did not know their children.'¹

Notwithstanding some efforts to check their zeal, the London mob tore down the new crucifixes. Priests if they showed in the streets were kicked into the kennels,² and the Protestant clergy, coming forth out of their hiding-places, began unpermitted to read the English services again. The bishops, distracted between

¹ 'Con la mudanza del Principe y de los oficiales anda tal barahunda y confusion que no conocen los padies á los hijos'—De Feria to Philip, November MS *Simancas*
² Ibid

fear and fury, knew not what to do or where to turn. Maurice Griffin, the Bishop of Rochester, died, and carried his mute appeal to a higher tribunal. The Queen's almoner Dr Bill had preached at Paul's Cross on the 20th, bidding the people be quiet and orderly. Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, he who burnt the bones of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, got possession of the pulpit the next Sunday, to rave mere treason, to be sent to the Tower for his violence, and to die like Griffin, a week or two later, either by grief or passion. The Catholics clamoured that they were being betrayed by Spain;¹ and De Feria could but write 'that his worst fears were confirmed;' 'that he was himself a cipher,' 'that Philip's voice had no more weight with the council than if he had never married into the realm; and that in all likelihood there would be an insurrection, of which the French would take advantage to invade the realm.' 'His Majesty had but to resolve, and he might be master of the situation; the Catholics would rise to support his interference in arms,² and to lose time was useless and dangerous.' 'The truth is,' De Feria said, 'the realm is in such a state that we could best negotiate here sword in hand. They have neither men, money, leaders, nor fortresses, while the country contains in abundance every requisite for the support of an army.'³

¹ 'Todos los fieles y Catolicos del Reyno ponen la principal culpa á su Magestad por no haberse querido ocupar en ellos y hacer lo que pudiera si quisiera.'—Memorial Del Conde de Feria *MS Simancas*.

² 'Quando lo negocio hubiese de venir á los manos V Magestad tendra esta parte por suya.'—De Feria to Philip *MS. Simancas*

³ Ibid

A large Spanish force was lying idle in the Netherlands. The Scheldt was crowded with vessels which could be converted with ease into transports. Philip himself was on the spot and must have felt how tempting was the opportunity. Happily for England he was incapable of a sudden resolution, and could only act when the critical moment had passed. He believed that the difficulties of her position would work their effect on Elizabeth as soon as she began to feel them, without his interference. He contented himself with charging his ministers to bribe, to promise, to persuade, to force upon the council the certainty of which he was himself convinced, that without his support the country must become a province of France.

Meanwhile Cecil, with a conviction that
December let Elizabeth do what she would Philip would be compelled to stand by her, went boldly forward. In preparation for the meeting of Parliament, he circulated questions on the principal points of uncertainty among the leaders of the different parties. The opinion of the Catholic clergy it was needless to ask. The Catholic clergy had nothing to desire beyond the existing order of things, except it was a more complete restoration of their estates and immunities. As easily may be divined the views of the reforming divines. The pupils of Zuingli and Calvin saw in religion an absolute and universal rule for all times and circumstances; and by religion they understood the profession of a special body of doctrinal formularies, with the absolute prohibition of every other creed or system. They implored

the Queen to admit no carnal compromise with Satan, and to regard herself as a Deborah or Judith, raised up by Providence for the deliverance of the Church ¹

The secular politicians had less confidence in truth, or were less certain that the Protestants had exclusive possession of it. The author of the paper on the 'Distresses of the Commonwealth' ² advised 'wary handling.' 'The Catholics were in the majority in every county in England except Middlesex and Kent.' 'The Pope was a dangerous enemy.' 'theological intolerance was not found by experience to produce healthy convictions;' 'glasses with small necks, if liquor was poured into them suddenly and violently, would not be so filled, but would refuse to receive it' ³

Goodrich, a lawyer of some eminence, was more explicit and decided. The Premunire Statute might, he thought, be enforced safely. The laws of the realm forbade the introduction of bulls, briefs, or letters of excommunication. The bishops might be forced again to submit to the Crown. They might be forbidden under the old penalties 'to deal with suits in their courts for matters determinable in the King's courts' Before Parliament met, it would be well 'that certain of the principal prelates and their addicted friends, councillors to the dead Queen, should be committed to the Tower, and the rest commanded to keep their houses;' while the whole body of the bench might be specially ex-

¹ *Zurich Letters*, 1558, 1559

² Probably Armigil Wade, who had been clerk of the council at the

close of Henry the Eighth's reign

³ *Domestic MS*, *Elizabeth*, vol 1

cepted from the pardon which would be proclaimed at the coronation. All these measures, high-handed as they were, might be prudently ventured; but it was more dangerous to meddle with opinion, or even to take a step against the spiritual functions of the Papacy. King John revolted against the Pope, and 'was brought in danger of his State.' The clergy it was true were weaker than they had been; but they were 'more wily and wise;' 'their tempers were more malicious, and the times more dangerous,' and before they could be 'handled effectually' they should be 'dissembled with and bridled.' Even in the approaching Parliament it would be better to attempt nothing beyond the repeal of the Lollard Statutes of Henry the Fourth and Fifth, which Queen Mary had revived. Deprived of these the bishops could no longer institute their processes *ex officio*, 'quiet persons could live safely,' and meantime 'her Majesty and all her subjects might by license of law use the English Litany and suffrages used in King Henry's time,' 'her Majesty in her closet might use the mass, without lifting up the Host, according to the ancient canons, and might also have at every mass some communicants with the minister in both kinds.' The married priests might be 'winked at, so as they used their wives secretly,' and 'the learned and discreet sort' might preach 'the Gospel,' if they would avoid direct controversy, abstain from irritating the Catholics, and reserve their invectives for Anabaptists and Arians.¹

¹ 'Judgment of Thomas Goodrich,' December, 1558 *Domestic MS., Elizabeth*, vol 1, *Rolls House*

Seven years later Elizabeth told Guzman de Silva, then Philip's ambassador, that at the beginning of her reign she had not been wholly a free agent, and that she had been driven by the pressure of the Protestants beyond the point where she would have preferred to rest. It is possible that she was intentionally deceiving De Silva ; but it is likely also that if left to herself she would have accepted the policy which was thus marked out for her by Goodrich. Politically there was much to recommend it. The Council of Trent had proved a failure. The Lutherans had recovered the ascendancy in Germany ; and the Ultramontanes had not yet succeeded in dividing the Church of Rome by any sharply-defined line from the communion of the more moderate Reformers. The chances were equal that if a general council should reassemble the Confession of Augsburg might be acknowledged, while the Genevan theology, the Articles and the second Prayer-book of Edward the Sixth, would be certainly condemned. The Premunire Statute would secure the national independence ; and so long as the critical doctrine of the Eucharist was unimpugned, the Church of England might still consider itself in communion with Catholic Christendom ; while the Great Powers could have then no pretext for interference or complaint. Personally and individually the dogmatism of Calvin was as distasteful to Elizabeth as the despotism of Rome. The practical complexion of her genius gave her a dislike and distrust of speculation, she was herself in her own opinions studiously vague, and she could have been well contented with a tolerant

orthodoxy, which would have left to Catholics their ritual deprived only of its extravagancies, and would have allowed the more moderate of their opponents free scope to feel the way towards a larger creed.

Yet revolution cannot be controlled with the logic of moderation; and toleration of those who are themselves intolerant is possible only when the common sense of mankind compels them to an inconsistency with their theories. The Lutheran might seem nearer to the Romanist than he was to Beza or Zuingli; but the vital differences were not the apparent differences; and the distinctions between the Reformers were after all but insignificant shades of variety, compared with the principle which parted all of them from the orthodox Catholic. The Catholic believed in the authority of the Church; the Reformers, in the authority of reason. Where the Church had spoken, the Catholic obeyed. His duty was to accept without question the laws which councils had decreed, which popes and bishops administered, and so far as in him lay to enforce in others the same submission to an outward rule which he regarded as divine. All shades of Protestants on the other hand agreed that authority might err; that Christ had left no visible representative, whom individually they were bound to obey; that religion was the operation of the Spirit on the mind and conscience; that the Bible was God's word, which each Christian was to read, and which with God's help and his natural intelligence he could not fail to understand. The Catholic left his Bible to the learned. The Protestant translated the Bible, and

brought it to the door of every Christian family. The Catholic prayed in Latin, and whether he understood his words or repeated them as a form the effect was the same; for it was magical. The Protestant prayed with his mind as an act of faith in a language intelligible to him, or he could not pray at all. The Catholic bowed in awe before his wonder-working image, adored his relics, and gave his life into the guidance of his spiritual director. The Protestant tore open the machinery of the miracles, flung the bones and ragged garments into the fire, and treated priests as men like himself. The Catholic was intolerant upon principle; persecution was the corollary of his creed. The intolerance of the Protestant was in spite of his creed. In denying the right of the Church to define his own belief, he had forfeited the privilege of punishing the errors of those who chose to differ from him.

Liberty as opposed to submission; the natural intelligence of the living man as opposed to the corporate sovereignty of the outward and visible Church these were the sharp antitheses which were dividing Christian Europe; and between them, and not between any special and detailed conclusions, lay the essential and irreconcilable antagonism. A *via media* might be found for opinion: words could be used which admitted of uncertain interpretation, so long as there was no authority to invest them with a definite meaning. On the question of authority itself, it was as little possible to hesitate as between rival claimants of the same throne. The Pope was a reality or he was nothing; and no Government

could seem to acknowledge him without consenting sooner or later to enforce his decrees.

Thus when Elizabeth had chosen her place on the moving side, she found it would be necessary to reclaim the spiritual jurisdiction of the Crown; and in taking a step which of itself would make enemies of the Catholics, to restore the Bible, to restore the English service, and in the question of the mass to leave a latitude which would conciliate the Calvinists.

The last of the papers addressed to Cecil indicates, with a rare combination of piety, good sense, and courage, the course to be pursued, showing at the same time that the dangers to be anticipated were not too great to be encountered.

‘The sooner religion was restored,’ the writer said, ‘God was the more glorified, and it might be trusted would better save and defend her Highness from all dangers.’ The Pope would perhaps excommunicate the Queen, interdict the kingdom, and invite the Catholic powers to a crusade. The French King would attempt an invasion in the name of Mary Stuart; Scotland would go with France, and Ireland would mutiny. The bishops and clergy would do their worst to make a rebellion in England itself; and the ultra-Protestants would be discontented if they were not permitted their turn at persecution.

On the other hand, though all this was possible enough, it was worse in appearance than in reality. The Pope had been looked in the face already, and his terrors had proved chiefly imaginary. ‘Evil will, cursing and

practising,' might be expected from him, but little else. France and Scotland were formidable; but there too, as well as in England, were religious differences, which could be kindled and fanned into a flame; while the disaffection at home might be held in awe by judicious and prompt severity. The extreme Catholics who had been placed in office by Queen Mary might be quietly and gradually removed. The old-fashioned country gentlemen, constitutionally reactionary and conservative, might be dropped out of the commission of the peace; and 'men of discretion, meaner of substance, and younger in years,' be put in their place; while the musters or militia should be called under arms, officered 'by young gentlemen which did earnestly favour her Highness;' and 'so far as justice or law might consent, no jurisdiction or authority should be left in any discontented man's hand.'

The luty against the clergy; the middle classes against the higher; the young generation against the old—society was split in two, in the normal line of revolution between the representatives of the future and the past.¹

The intended measures were concerted with the strictest secrecy. A body of divines sat in the house of Sir Thomas Smith to revise the Prayer-book, and take from it that sectarian character which in its latest form it had assumed. Northampton, Pembroke, Bedford, and Lord John Grey, formed with Cecil a committee of

¹ The device for the alteration of religion in the first year of Elizabeth, offered to Secretary Cecil *Cotton. MSS.* Printed in BURNET'S *Collectedanea*.

council to consult privately with the Queen; and innovation and change until sanctioned by Parliament were strictly forbidden by proclamation ¹

But however cautious they might be the outline of the intended policy became every day more clear; and the Spanish ambassador wrote with louder emphasis that England was lost and Elizabeth lost unless she was checked in the mad career on which she was entering. He did not anticipate the ultimate success of heresy. He believed only that the Queen, blinded by vanity, passion, and ill advice, was bringing on a catastrophe in which she must inevitably lose her throne to the Queen of Scots. Nothing could save her, nothing could prevent so disastrous a consequence, except her immediate marriage to some prince or nobleman in the Spanish interest ². 'The more I reflect on this business,' he said, 'the more clearly I see that all will turn on the husband which this woman will choose.' That she would marry some one was assumed as a matter of course, and at home as well as abroad the question who was to be her husband was the prominent subject of anxiety.

The opportunity of securing a powerful continental alliance, not a statesman in Elizabeth's cabinet would encourage her to neglect. Her life was the single bulwark between the nation and civil war or incorporation with France. She was the last of her race. All England

¹ STYRPE, *Annals*, vol. i. part ii. Appendix iv.

² 'Quanto mas pienso en este negocio entiendo que todo el consiste en el marido que esta muger

tomará, porque si es tal qual conviene, las cosas de la religion irán bien, y el reino quedará amigo á V. Mag^d, si no todo va horriado.'—De Feria to Philip. *MS Simancas*

was impatient for an heir, and was uncertain only whether it desired her to choose a husband from abroad or from among her own subjects. A subject would bring no increase of strength. The antipathy of the English to strangers had been shown remarkably in the opposition to the alliance of Mary with Philip. But the peril of the nation was now so great, the necessity of the case so overwhelming, that minor objections were overlooked, and the first prayer of every loyal man or woman in the country, alike Catholic and Protestant, was to see Elizabeth married somewhere, and to see her a mother.

To this matter therefore De Feria's atten-
tion was now turned exclusively. On his first ¹⁵⁵⁹ January.
arrival in London the ambassador, regarding the Queen as the creature of his master, had spoken to her in a tone which she resented. High words had passed between them, and De Feria had absented himself from Court. Elizabeth however was afraid to quarrel with him. In a few days she sent for him again, and affected to listen with interest to his proposals for her marriage. Philibert of Savoy, Philip's landless cousin, was the first suggestion. But Philibert had been already proposed and rejected while she was princess. England it was thought would be involved in endless war for the recovery of his lost inheritance. There were the Austrian Archdukes, to either one of whom there was less objection. But the person desirable above all others for her, in the eyes of Spanish statesmen, was Philip himself. 'If she marry out of her own realm,' wrote De Feria to his

master, 'may she place her eyes on your Majesty.'¹ There would be the true solution of all difficulties. The daughter of Anne Boleyn accepting the hand of her brother-in-law, and submitting to a Papal dispensation in order to obtain it, would make a refined expiation to the Catholic world for the divorce of Queen Catherine, and would exquisitely stultify the English revolt. The political combination of England, Spain, and the Low Countries would be cemented more firmly than ever. There would be no more danger from France and the Queen of Scots; and Philip himself would be rewarded for his late martyrdom by a wife more suited to his years

A thousand motives recommended Elizabeth to the Spanish Court. To understand their weight we must revert to the conference at Cercamp, and the relations between Spain and France.

In the preceding chapter it was seen how the languid but expensive campaign of the last summer had terminated in an armistice, and in an effort to make peace. Behind the shield of the forty years' war, half Europe had revolted from the Church. The poison of heresy was spreading in France, in the Low Countries, in Italy, and even in Spain—exciting disorder and revolt, and allying itself with dangerous doctrines of popular liberty. The Great Powers were recognizing at last that it was high time to close their secular quarrels, and turn their swords towards holier objects. In the presence of

¹ 'Si determine da casa fuera del Reyno ella ponga los ojos en V. M^d,'—De Feria to Philip *MS Smancaas*.

their common enemy the ultramontanes everywhere saw the necessity of drawing together ; and for the moment the Catholic party was superior at the Court of Henry the Second.

Thus when the conference opened it had seemed that there was nothing to discuss. The French relinquished without a struggle their claims on Naples and Milan. They were willing to retire from Piedmont, to leave Navarre to Spain, to sacrifice every object for which they had wasted their blood and treasure. They insisted only on keeping Metz, which the Duke of Guise had defended against the Emperor, and Calais, which he had wrested from the English. Measured by their intrinsic value, these two poor towns were as nothing when compared with the concessions in Italy ; and about Metz there was little difficulty. But the English, who had been dragged reluctantly into the war by Mary, who had lost all and gained nothing, required that in the restitution of conquests, their claim should not be disregarded. The loss of Calais had touched the national honour in the point where it was most sensitive, and they insisted, and required Philip to insist with them, on its restoration.

The Spaniards were sensible of their obligations, and their own interest assisted in keeping them firm. The possession of Calais by the English was one of the securities of the Low Countries. It had been lost in a war undertaken solely at Philip's entreaty, and the Duke of Alva, perhaps in fear that his master's anxiety for peace might make him hesitate, dwelt with distinctness on the danger of forgetting his duty to his allies.

'We have told the French,' he said, to the King of Spain, at the end of October, 'that your Majesty will make no peace without the Queen of England's consent, though all Christendom perish for it. If you give way you will lose utterly the hearts of the English nation, who will turn from you to France; and the French King having Scotland and Calais, will soon be master of England also' ¹

Both Alva and the Bishop of Arras agreed in advising that the negotiation should be broken off, and the war be resumed. Philip would recover his popularity in London, and England would be roused to fresh exertions. If Spain was exhausted, France was more exhausted. The difficulty had perhaps been raised but as a feint to divide the Anglo-Spanish alliance; and if Philip was firm, the point would probably be given up.

So matters stood a fortnight before Mary's death. The change of sovereigns voided the commission of the English representatives. The armistice was prolonged, the conference prorogued till January, and the interval occupied with intrigue.

Affecting to suppose that the interests of Spain in England must have died with the late Queen, the French commissioners at once, on the arrival of the news, challenged Elizabeth's right ². They made an

¹ *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle*, vol v pp 324-5

² Lord Cobham, writing in December to Elizabeth from Brussels, told her on the authority of Ruy Gomez, the colleague of Alva and Arras, 'that at Cercamp the French

did not let to say and talk openly how your Highness is not lawful Queen of England, and that they have already sent to Rome to disprove your Majesty's right'—*Spanish MSS*, *Elizabeth*, *Rolls House*

immediate effort to separate Philip from her, and scarcely cared to conceal their intention of striking an immediate blow, if Spain would look on and hold its hand.¹

The Spaniards however had no intention of letting England become an appanage of France. Elizabeth was Philip's nominee, and not yet to be set aside for the Queen of Scots. On the 21st of November the King of Spain wrote to assure the English council that he would never desert them, and so he would have all men understand.² Doctor Wotton and the Bishop of Ely accompanied Arras from Cercamp to Brussels, and the diplomatic relations of the Spanish and English Courts remained as close as ever.

Philip was then confident that he could retain Elizabeth. Elizabeth, while peace was unconcluded, was compelled to keep on terms of cordiality with Philip. Ruy Gomez it was true suggested that it might be better to come to terms without extorting the restoration of Calais, but this was only that the allies might replenish their treasuries, and begin the war again at better advantage.³

But French intrigues were double-edged. Untroubled by scruples religious or political, Henry cared only to make the most of the situation; and of the two parties

¹ Arras and Alva to Philip, November 26 *Granvelle Papers*, vol v

² 'Ita enim ab omnibus accipi-
atque intelligi volumus, nullo tem-
pore Anglos quibus multas ob causas
bene volumus deserturos sed omni-

bus in rebus adfuturos'—Philip II
to the English Council, November
21 *Spanish MSS, Elizabeth, Rolls
House.*

³ Cobham to Elizabeth, Decem-
ber 13 *Spanish MSS.*

and two policies which divided France, he was indifferent which he employed, provided he could gain a march upon an adversary. While the Cardinal of Lorraine, at Cercamp, would have persuaded Spain to sacrifice England, the King of Navarre was allowed to tempt England to sacrifice Spain. If Elizabeth would become French, and if he could secure for his daughter-in-law the peaceable reversion of the English crown, Henry might turn the tables upon Philip, keep Piedmont, and possibly extend his frontier to the Rhine.

No sooner was the armistice extended than Lord Grey de Wilton, who had been taken prisoner at Guisnes, was sent over to Elizabeth with proposals for a secret peace. Guido Cavalcanti, who had been employed in Edward's time on a similar errand, followed to 'practice' among the lords, and Henry himself wrote to 'congratulate Elizabeth on her accession, to assure her that he ever had been and ever would be her truest friend, and to express his hope that with her sister's death the only cause had been removed which had made a difference between the two countries. While the conference was suspended, a second set of commissioners might meet in some remote French village where their presence would be unobserved; and Philip could not complain if Elizabeth treated him as Charles the Fifth had treated her father at Crêpy.'¹

Ignorant whether Henry was sincere, or was trying only to divide her from Philip—ignorant how far she

¹ The King of France to Elizabeth FORBES, vol. 1

might trust Philip himself when the changes which she was contemplating were daily embroiling her with his ambassador, perhaps knowing that notwithstanding his fair speeches the Count de Feria was already urging his master to an armed interference in England, Elizabeth would not reject these overtures, yet would not so admit them as to give Philip an excuse for complaint. She declined the secret conference, yet professed herself ready to make a separate peace; at the same time she directed Wotton to inform the King of Spain of the advances which had been made to her; to tell him that she would agree to nothing which would prejudice the Spanish alliance, without giving him notice; but to say frankly that as England had been entangled in the war against the declared wishes of the people, if advantageous offers were made to her she would not think it right to refuse them.¹

The habitual ambiguity of Philip had provoked this partial menace. Although his ministers at Cercamp had been true to England, his own language had been less decided. He had declared himself willing to continue friendly towards England, but the treaty remained unrenewed, although Lord Cobham had been sent over to him to exchange the ratifications; and Wotton could only pray 'that it were well done and past,' without expecting to see it done. 'The King,' Wotton wrote, 'doth well consider that if he should agree to the peace without us, we were not able long to resist the French

¹ The Queen to Wotton, December 30, 1558. *Spanish MSS Rolls House*.

and the Scots and others whom the French would set on our tops What would ensue thereof a blind man can see; and these reasons persuade that he will make no peace without our satisfaction'¹ Yet on the other hand Philip was inclined to make demands on England, which he knew could not be complied with; and Spain was impatient of the expenses of the war, and cried out to be at rest. In this uncertainty Henry's advances to England quickened his resolution, and from other quarters probably, as well as from Elizabeth's letter, he learnt that no time was to be lost. The King of France had followed up his first step by more decided overtures. Going at once to the central difficulty, he instructed Guido Cavalcanti to say to the Queen that although 'Calais was part of the ancient patrimony of France, and the French nation would give all their substance to keep it,' yet that 'where there was a will on both sides, no difficulties were insuperable.' 'So long as it was uncertain where Elizabeth might marry, he might if he restored it be opening a door to give his enemies an entrance into his kingdom;' 'but if she would marry in a quarter from which France had nothing to fear,' 'an expedient would be found for Calais to the honour of both princes and the satisfaction of their subjects;' while an alliance might be formed between himself, the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and the Queen of England, for 'a perpetual union' of England, France, and Scotland,

¹ *Spanish MSS Rolls House.*

‘with a final determination of all quarrels, rights, and pretensions whatever.’¹

It is uncertain to whom the King of France was alluding as the husband whom he would desire for Elizabeth; but her marrying at all in the French interest was a contingency which Philip dared not risk; and as little could he afford that she should remain—as from her words to De Feria she seemed to desire—neutral in the quarrels of the continent.² On the 9th of January Philip was still wavering; on the 10th he declared his final determination.

‘Touching the Queen’s marriage,’ he wrote to De Feria, ‘I directed you in one of my last letters to throw all possible obstacles in the way of her marriage with a subject. For myself, were the question asked, I bade you say nothing positively to commit me, yet so to answer as not to leave her altogether without hope. In a matter of so great importance I had to consider carefully; and I wished before coming to a resolution to have the advice both of yourself and others. At length, after weighing it on all sides, I have concluded thus.—

‘There are many and serious reasons why I should not think of her. I could spend but little time with her my other dominions require my constant presence. The Queen has not been what she ought to be in religion;

¹ ‘Mission of Guido Cavalcanti . . . su resolucion de querer estar neutral.’—De Feria to Philip, December

² ‘Particularmente dió señal de . . . *MS. Simancae*

and to marry with any but a Catholic will reflect upon my reputation. I shall be committing myself perhaps to an endless war with France, in consequence of the pretensions of the Queen of Scots to the English Crown: my subjects in Spain require my return to them with indescribable anxiety; while so long as I remain in this country, the hospitalities expected of me are, as you well know, a serious expense; and my affairs, as you know also, are in such disorder that I can scarce provide for my current necessities, far less encounter any fresh demands upon me.

‘There are other objections besides these, equally considerable, which I need not specify. You can yourself imagine them.

‘Nevertheless considering how essential it is in the general interests of Christendom to maintain that realm in the religion which by God’s help has been restored in it—considering the inconveniences, the perils, the calamities which may arise, not only there but in these States also, if England relapse into error—I have decided to encounter the difficulty, to sacrifice my private inclination in the service of our Lord, and to marry the Queen of England.

‘Provided only and always that these conditions be observed. First, and chiefly, you will exact an assurance from her that she will profess the same religion which I profess, that she will persevere in it and maintain it, and keep her subjects true to it, and that she will do everything which in my opinion shall be necessary for its augmentation and support.

‘Secondly, she must apply in secret to the Pope for absolution for her past sins, and for the dispensation which will be required for the marriage; and she must engage to accept both these in such a manner that when I make her my wife she will be a true Catholic, which hitherto she has not been.

‘You will understand from this the service which I render to our Lord. Through my means her allegiance will be recovered to the Church. I should mention that the condition that gave the Low Countries to the issue—should any such be born—of my marriage with the late Queen, cannot be again acceded to. It is too injurious to the rights of my son Don Carlos.’¹

In announcing his resolution to make this cruel sacrifice, Philip nevertheless felt it necessary to add that ‘although he was ready to marry Elizabeth, she must not expect him to remain long with her.’ ‘He was absolutely required in Spain, and to Spain he must go, whether he left her pregnant or not. There was no such pressing haste as there had been when he married her sister; she was young, and he could go and come at convenient intervals.’ And here it seemed, as if for the first time it occurred to him, that his offer of himself might possibly not be welcome; for he told De Feria not to mention the likelihood of his absence, or indeed any of the other conditions, until he had discovered how she was affected towards him. He bade the Count feel his

¹ Philip II. to the Count de Feria, January 10, 1559 *MS Simancas*

way, 'and not expose him to a refusal which would make his condescension appear ridiculous.' 'For himself he was ready to do anything which his duty to God demanded of him.'¹

Seen by the light of later history, a proposal of marriage from Philip of Spain to Elizabeth of England can scarcely be thought of without a smile: yet Philip was indisputably serious, and in offering his hand he was offering the most splendid alliance in the world. Had the proposal itself been simply communicated to her, unaccompanied by Philip's thoughts about it, Elizabeth would have felt herself bound to refuse with courtesy. But the fates were unfavourable. The improvident Count de Feria permitted his master's letter to be seen by the ladies of the palace, whom he was endeavouring to interest in the cause. The contents of it, or perhaps the despatch itself, reached Elizabeth's eye,² and the value of the offer was not improved when it was represented as a sacrifice to duty.

When the Count opened the subject with her, she was already prepared with her reply. She was conscious, she said, of the honour which had been done her; she was aware of the value to the realm of the King of Spain's alliance; but His Majesty's friendship was as sufficient for her protection as his love. She had no desire to marry, and she did not believe in the

¹ *MS Sumanecas*

² 'Despues que su M^d escribió la resolucion destos negocios, se comenzáron á tratar, usando el buen modo que pareció convenir, que fue

ganar las voluntades de sus mugeres de camara. Parece que la Reyna ha visto las cartas de su M^d lo qual debe advertirse mucho'—Memorial del Conde de Feria *MS Sumanecas*

power of the Pope to allow her to have her sister's husband.

De Feria threatened her with the Queen of Scots. She declined to consider the Queen of Scots' chances to be as large as he described them; and finally, her sense of humour getting the better of her, she said, laughing, she feared the King of Spain would prove a bad husband, he would come to England and marry her, and then desert her and go home¹

True to her nature however Elizabeth would not give a positive refusal. If she was determined she affected to be irresolute, and the Count could only conjecture that her final answer would be unfavourable.

Thus at home and abroad the new year found all parties watching each other, and 'practising' under the surface. The English Parliament was to meet on the 23rd of January; a fortnight later the Conference was to reassemble at Cambray. On Sunday the 15th, the day after she had received Philip's proposals, the Queen was crowned at the Abbey

The week preceding was spent according to custom at the Tower. On the Saturday there was the usual pageant, when she was taken in state to Westminster

Elizabeth had been disciplined into self-control by danger and suffering. Her more serious feelings she habitually concealed, and when she spoke on such sub-

¹ 'Diversas personas le habian dicho que su M^d habia de venir aqui á casarse con ella y usc luego á España, lo qual dió con mucha risa'—Memorial del Conde de Feria. MS Simancas

jects, it was either with diplomatic reserve or with an elfish and mocking irony. On occasions however her deeper emotions refused to be stifled; and as she passed out to her carriage under the gates of the Tower, fraught to her with such stern remembrances, she stood still, looked up to heaven, and said:—

‘Oh Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give Thee most humble thanks that Thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day; and I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt wonderfully and mercifully with me. As Thou didst with thy servant Daniel the prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the den, from the cruelty of the raging lions, even so I was overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen.’

She then took her seat, and passed on,—passed on through thronged streets and under crowded balconies, amidst a people to whom her accession was as the rising of the sun. Away in the country the Protestants were few and the Catholics many. But the Londoners were the first-born of the Reformation, whom the lurid fires of Smithfield had worked only into fiercer convictions. The aldermen wept for joy as she went by. Groups of children waited for her with their little songs at the crosses and conduits. Poor women, though it was mid-winter, flung nosegays into her lap. In Cheapside the Corporation presented her with an English Bible. She kissed it, ‘thanking the City for their goodly gift,’ and saying ‘she would diligently read therein.’ One of the

crowd, recollecting who first gave the Bible to England, exclaimed, 'Remember old King Harry the Eighth,' and a gleam of light passed over Elizabeth's face—'a natural child,' says Holinshed, 'who at the very remembrance of her father's name took so great a joy that all men may well think that as she rejoiced at his name whom the realm doth still hold of so worthy memory, so in her doings she will resemble the same.'

The ceremony the next day was performed by Oglethorpe, the Bishop of Carlisle. The Archbishop of York, to whom the duty would naturally have fallen, had been alarmed by the English litany and refused to officiate; but his example was not followed. The bishops waited till the quarrel was commenced by the Queen, and were generally present at the Abbey Mass was sung as usual, and the occasion passed off with no particular remark.

The opening of Parliament was the one subject which absorbed attention. How would the Houses accept the intended policy of the Queen? Four new peers had been created at the coronation. The earldom of Hertford was revived in favour of Edward Seymour, son of the Protector. Lord Thomas Howard, Surrey's younger brother, was made Lord Howard of Binden. Sir Henry Carey, the Queen's cousin, became Lord Hunsdon; and Sir Oliver St John was created Baron St John of Bletso. Including these, the lay peerage of England consisted but of sixty-one persons, of whom it is to be observed that eighteen were either unable or unwilling to appear at Elizabeth's first Parliament, while twelve

who were present at the opening very soon discontinued their attendance. Their proxies for the most part were held by Bedford and Clinton, and their votes therefore were given to the Government. But the personal absence of half the peers implied but a cold welcome to the new sovereign.

The Bench of Bishops also was proportionally thin. Reginald Pole, for some unknown reason, had left several sees untenanted. The accession of Elizabeth had been followed by a remarkable mortality among those whom it found in possession; and before Parliament met there were a dozen bishoprics vacant for the Queen to fill, as De Feria expressed it, with as many ministers of Lucifer¹. Of the surviving prelates, some were incapacitated by age, some by sickness, from attending to their places, and thus, without violence being used to thin their phalanx, ten was the largest number which they were ever able to muster on the most important debate of the session.

For the Commons, the Catholics were loud in their complaints of the unfairness of the elections; and it may be assumed as certain that a Government which had contemplated the removal of every Catholic magistrate in the kingdom, exerted itself to the utmost in securing the return of its friends. It is equally certain—inasmuch as five years later two justices of the peace out of

¹ De Feria, in his imitation, credited Pole with the whole deficiency—'Aquel maldito Cardinal dexó doce obispos por proveer en los quales pondran ahora doce ministros de Lucifer'—De Feria to Philip, February 20 *MS Simancas*

three were even then reported to be unfavourable to the Reformation—that when parties approached an equality the Crown was in no condition to use violence. Constitutional opposition however was as yet imperfectly understood; and the disaffected on either side looked rather to rebellion when the Government was against them than to the tedious processes of Parliament. The universal horror of the late reign forced the defenders of its principles into the shade, and the moving party, though numerically the weakest, were the young, the eager, and the energetic. The Catholics left the field to their adversaries; and town and country chose their representatives among those who were most notorious for their hatred of popes and priesthods.¹

A slight indisposition obliged Elizabeth to postpone the opening for two days. On the 25th the session began, and for the first time she stood as Queen face to face with her subjects.

Her position was singularly lonely. The mortality in the Tudor race which had raised her to the throne had left her also with scarcely a relation in the world. Her nearest kinswoman was the rival claimant of her crown; and she herself, as she appeared in the House of Lords, a young woman not yet twenty-six, must have felt that in her high estate she had but herself alone, her own resolution, her own prudence, her own energy, to depend upon; the last of the royal blood, the centre

¹ 'Este Parlamento es de personas escogidas en todo el Reyno los mas ereges y perversos.'—*Ibid.*

of a revolutionary hurricane, which with such skill as she possessed she was set to guide and to curb.

Of those who were round her, the figures of some few, with the help of such scanty light as remains, may be looked at specially and distinctly. First on the bench of bishops sat Heath, and next him Bonner, standing out with unshaken daring to brave the execration which was heaped upon his name. After Bonner came Pates, Bishop of Worcester, attainted by Henry the Eighth for high treason—one of Pole's missionaries of treason, who had sat in the Council of Trent. Next him was White, Bishop of Winchester, who had distinguished himself by a violent sermon at Queen Mary's funeral. Of the three other bishops, Baynes, Scott, and Oglethorpe, the two first were equally notorious fanatics. The Abbot of Westminster, Feckenham, was he who had gone on the vain mission to shake the faith of Lady Jane Grey.

Leaving the churchmen, soon to disappear all of them into their proper darkness, we look next to the Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the more famous Chancellor, had grown into notice as a lawyer in the time of Henry the Eighth. He had married a daughter of Sir Antony Cooke, being thus Cecil's brother-in-law; and, with Lady Bacon, was an advanced Protestant, inclining over the borders towards Calvinism¹. His eldest son Antony was a child, Francis

¹ Sir Antony Cooke, ἀρχιμάγειρος | intimacy with the Genevans, yet not
as he was called, had been spoken of | disposed to go all lengths with them
for Chancellor, he too being in close | —Zurich Letters, pp 1, 17, and 32.

was not yet born. He himself was approaching middle age—a large corpulent man, with a square massive face deeply lined, high arched eyebrows, and a high nose, the expression keen, hard, and unsparing, yet upright and noble. Unknown as yet as a statesman, Bacon it is likely owed his advancement to the recommendation of Cecil.

If Bacon represented the incoming era, the Marquis of Winchester represented the era which was passing away. Paulet Marquis of Winchester could remember a Plantagenet king, and Bosworth field. He was advanced in years when Queen Catherine was divorced; and having survived all changes of creed, having been made a peer by Henry, created a marquis by Edward, and having afterwards been the chief instrument in saving Mary's crown—'the Shebna' of Knox, 'the crafty fox with a fair countenance,'—he was to be seen in his office of High Treasurer in Elizabeth's first Parliament, eighty-four years old, still vigorous and serviceable. His letters continued for years to show a mind as clear and a hand as steady as those of the best of the contemporaries of his grandchildren. His principle was loyalty to the family of Henry VIII; his creed, faith in God and English freedom, and hate of fanatics, Catholic or Protestant.

The Duke of Norfolk, first of the English peers, was young and untried. He for the present was guided, and the Howard family was represented, by his uncle William Lord of Effingham, to whom above all other Englishmen Elizabeth owed her life and throne.

Fitzallan Earl of Arundel, Norfolk's father-in-law, like the Marquis of Winchester, had served under three sovereigns and under three creeds. He had been one of the executors of the will of Henry the Eighth; it was he who arrested Northumberland at Cambridge; he had been steward of Mary's household; he had acted as High Constable at Elizabeth's coronation; and being a widower he was named among those who might aspire to the Queen's hand. But he moved in a cloud, suspected of aims which he would not avow, without a conviction, without a purpose, feared by all men and trusted by none.

The Earl of Pembroke was a soldier, and the ablest which England possessed. Pembroke, with Lord Russell, had suppressed the insurrection under Edward. Pembroke led the English contingent at St Quentin, and had commanded in London on the memorable morning when Sir Thomas Wyatt came in from Knightsbridge. His wealth was enormous: as President of the Welsh Marches, he was supposed to be able to bring two thousand men into the field. But he had been employed by Mary chiefly because she could not afford to alienate so powerful a subject. He had looked coldly on her proceedings, and in turn had been coldly regarded. He had been among the first to support Elizabeth with his presence at Hatfield; and his growing allegiance to Protestantism placed him on the committee of four which had determined on the change of religion.

Lord Francis Russell Earl of Bedford was the favourite above all English noblemen of the extreme reformers.

In the late reign he was one of the few of high rank who had not cared to conceal his opinions; and although Mary had not dared to proceed to extremities against him, he had been imprisoned, and had been released only to go into voluntary exile. He had travelled into Italy, paying a visit by the way to the refugees at Zurich, and the Genevans looked to him afterwards as their surest friend in Elizabeth's cabinet. In appearance he was a heavy ungainly man, distinguished chiefly by the huge dimensions of his head. When Charles of Austria was a suitor for Elizabeth's hand, and questions were asked of his person, the Earl of Bedford's large head was the comparison made use of in his disparagement:¹ but his expression, like that of Bacon, was stern and powerful; the world as he knew it was no place for the softer virtues; and those only could play their parts there to good purpose whose tempers were as hard as the age and whose intellects had an edge of steel

The Catholic leader among the Peers, in default of Norfolk, was Antony Browne, son of Henry the Eighth's Master of the Horse, created by Mary Lord Montague, in right of descent by the female line from the Nevilles. In the distraction of families, one of his sisters was the wife of the Puritan Lord John Grey, the other was Countess of Kildare. Montague himself, with the estates of the Countess of Salisbury, had inherited her principles and her fearlessness. But his character with

¹ 'Del Carlos dicen que tiene la cabeza mayor que el Conde de Bedford'—The Bishop of Aquila to the

Count de Feria, May 29, 1559
MS Simancas.

that of all others then passing into prominence will unfold itself with the story.

The Queen took her seat upon the throne. The Commons were called to the bar. Sir Nicholas Bacon then rose and spoke.

After throwing himself on the courtesy of the Houses, he said that he was directed by her Majesty to explain the causes for which they were assembled.

Her Majesty having God before her eyes, desired to seek 'before all things the advancement of His honour and glory as the sure and infallible foundation on which to erect her policy.' 'This foundation being well laid, good success would follow in all else; without it nothing could be looked for but continual alteration and change; things much to be eschewed in all good governance, and most of all in matters of faith and religion.' 'Her Majesty's desire was to secure and unite the people of the realm in one uniform order to the honour and glory of God and to general tranquillity;' 'she required the Parliament therefore, for the duty they owed to Him whose cause it was, and for their country's sake whose creed it concerned, to use their best diligence for the establishing of that which should be most convenient for so godly a purpose.' They must consider no private interests or personal respects. They must 'forbear, and, as a great enemy to good counsel, flee from all contentious reasonings and disputations, all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, mecter for ostentation of wit than a consultation in weightier matters, more beseeeming for schools

than for the Parliament House'—the Queen required them to 'eschew contumelious and opprobrious words, as heretic, schismatic, and Papist, as causes of displeasure and malice, enemies to concord and unity, the very marks which they were now to shoot at;' and as on the one hand they would 'devise nothing which in continuance of time might breed idolatry and superstition,' so 'they would take heed by no licentious or loose handling to give occasion for contempt and irreverent behaviour towards God or godly things'

Touching then on scriptural illustrations of the dangers of both these extremes, and expressing, in a graceful comparison with Esther, Elizabeth's earnest aim to do only what should be just and acceptable in God's sight, he concluded that part of his subject in these words:—

'Forced by our duties to God, forced thereto by His punishments, provoked by His benefits, drawn by our love to our country, encouraged by so princely a patroness, let us in God's name go about this work, endeavouring ourselves with all diligence to make such laws as may tend to the establishment of God's Church and the tranquillity of this realm.'

Turning next to the condition of the country, he spoke of the change of sovereigns. The crown, he said, had fallen to a princess who intended to govern with the advice of the estates of her realm; to put down evil-doers 'without rigour and extremity,' yet without 'indulgence or foolish pity;' a princess that neither was nor ever would be 'so wedded to her own will and

fantasy,' that 'for the satisfaction of it' she would bring her people into bondage 'or give occasion for tumults and stirs,' such 'as had risen of late days;' a princess that never for private affection would advance the quarrel of a foreign prince and impoverish her realm; a princess to whom 'nothing—no worldly thing under the sun—was so dear as the love and goodwill of her subjects.'

All this was of happy augury. On the other hand Calais was lost—Calais the glory of England the fear of England's enemies; Calais the mart for its merchants; Calais the guardian of the Channel. The particular loss would have been of less consequence if 'what had been lightly lost might lightly be recovered;' but the revenue of the Crown had been wasted; guns, men, ships, stores, squandered and lost; enormous debts were owing abroad, with 'biting interest' so long as they were left unpaid. War was daily growing more expensive; and England surrounded with enemies was unprovided with the commonest means of defence. The Parliament must look to it; when there was danger of fire 'they plucked down part of their houses to save the rest.' 'The wise merchant in adventures of danger' insured himself against loss. The Queen was most unwilling to burden her subjects; but 'the ragged State torn by misgovernment' could no longer be trifled with.

'Her Highness,' the Lord Keeper concluded, 'has commanded me to say, that were it not for the preservation of your own selves and the surety of the State,

she would rather have adventured her own life than troubled you. And albeit you yourselves see that this is no matter of will, no matter of displeasure, no private cause of her own, but for the defence of our country and the preservation of every private man's home and family, her Majesty's pleasure is that nothing shall be demanded of her loving subjects but that which they of their own free liberality be contented frankly and freely to offer; so great is the trust and confidence that she reposes in them, and the love and affection that she bears towards them '¹

Five days passed On Monday the 30th the business of the session commenced. In the Commons, the first question was of supply; a committee of twenty-four was appointed to draw up a Money Bill. In the Lords, the same day, an Act was introduced to reannex the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices to the Crown. In both Houses, the general policy which the Queen intended to pursue was sketched in outline; Cecil, Bedford, and Sussex most distinguishing themselves. 'The Parliament has begun,' De Feria wrote on the 31st. 'It is already proposed to repeal the late laws, and to change religion. The Catholics are in the utmost alarm, and have no hope but in your Majesty.'²

¹ Speech of Sir N. Bacon, 1558-9 *MS Harleian*, 398 Printed in *DEWES' Journals*

² 'Los Catolicos estan muy temerosos de la resolucion que se tomara en este Parlamento De los del Consejo, Cecil y el Conde de Bedford

son los que mas se señalan en destruir esto, de los de fuera el Conde de Sussex hace lo que puede Los Catolicos tienen puesta toda su esperanza en V. M.^a'—De Feria to Philip, January 31 *MS Simancas*

The First-fruits Bill—so slight regard was there anywhere for the temporal interests of the clergy—was swept in four days through the Upper House, amidst the clamours of the bishops.¹ The Commons were no less expeditious. On the 1st of February a February Tonnage and Poundage Act was introduced.² On the 3rd the Committee was prepared with the Subsidy Bill.

It will be remembered that in Mary's last Parliament the Commons, in distrust of Philip's influence on the Queen, had granted half only of the sum which was then demanded of them, undertaking to furnish the remainder at a future time, should it be absolutely required. The preamble of the present bill admitted the necessity, yet in terms which implied a belief that England was weak only by misgovernment, and was capable as ever of maintaining its freedom and greatness. They voted at once, and without reservation, more than all which they had refused to Mary—two-fifteenth and tenths, half-a-crown in the pound on all personal property, and four shillings in the pound on the rents of land. With peculiar significance they took upon themselves on this occasion to legislate for the clergy also, and extended the Act to all persons in the realm, spiritual as well as temporal.³

But there was a more pressing anxiety than any

¹ *Lords' Journals*, 1 Elizabeth

² In money bills, the reason for the grant was always specially assigned. Tonnage and poundage, or

a duty on exports and imports, was supposed to be given for the police duty of the seas

³ 1 Elizabeth, cap. 21

which could be removed by money. Elizabeth's single life alone lay between England and annexation to France, and no foreign Prince could be more anxious about her marriage than her own subjects. To Philip or Henry the question was but of the balance of power in Europe, to the English it was life itself.

There were many suitors—Philip, his cousin Philibert, the Austrian princes, and the King of Sweden. At home Arundel's name had been mentioned, and Sir William Pickering's. On the whole, the Queen was thought more likely to choose a subject than a foreigner;¹ but the desire to see her married to some one was so great that the person seemed nothing in comparison. On the 6th of February the Speaker Sir T. Gargrave, with the privy council and thirty members of the House of Commons, demanded an audience, and without mentioning person or country they requested her in the name of the nation to be pleased to take to herself a husband.

How Elizabeth received the petitioners is unknown, but she took time to consider her answer. On Thursday the 9th, a bill was introduced into the Lower House to restore the royal supremacy, and was referred to a committee of which Sir Antony Cooke was chairman.² It

¹ 'Entiendo que estos consejeros se comiençan desengañar de que ella no se quiere casar en el Reyno, y esto les hace dar mas prisa á lo de la elegia'—De Feria to Philip, January 31 *MS Simancas*

² De Feria says the heretics

made the more haste for fear the Queen might marry a Catholic. Cooke himself complained that he could move no faster. On the 12th of February he wrote to Peter Martyr, 'We are busy in Parliament, casting out the tyranny of the Pope,

Feb. 10 was not till the morning of the 10th that the deputation was desired to return to the Queen's presence.

She then said she most heartily thanked her faithful subjects for the care they showed for her. For herself, from the time when she had first determined to live for God's service, she had preferred to remain unmarried. There had been a time when her life was in danger. She would not blame her sister, nor although she had good grounds for suspicion would she name the person by whose advice her sister was acting; but it had seemed then as if her marriage alone could save her. Yet she had refused, and God, who had defended her before, she was confident would not desert her now. She approved of the form of the petition, which left her choice unfettered, and should it please God to incline her heart to another kind of life they might assure themselves she would do nothing of which the realm should have cause to complain. She intended to spend her own life for the good of her people, and if she married she would choose a husband who would be as careful for them as herself. If, on the contrary, she continued in her present mind she could not doubt but that with the help of Parliament the succession might be secured, and some 'fit governor be provided, peradventure more beneficial to the realm than such offspring as might come of her.' Children were uncertain blessings, and might grow up ungracious. For her it would be enough 'that a marble stone

restoring the authority of the Crown, | we move far too slowly.'—ZORICH
and re-establishing true religion, but | *Letters*, p. 19

should declare that a Queen having reigned such a time lived and died a virgin '¹

A vague answer, yet not intended to mislead; the obligation to marry for political convenience, detestable under all its aspects, painful to a man—to a woman so painful that a crown might be thought too poor a price to pay for it—the proud Elizabeth would not wholly repudiate. Even that sacrifice she might make at last, if the welfare of the country required it of her. But the time had not come as yet, and it was convenient to leave the prize of the English throne open for a while to the competition of the Catholic powers. The Reformation could be carried on with less danger and interference so long as Philip could hope to undo it again constitutionally, nor could he interfere at all, while a suitor in his own behalf or his cousin's for Elizabeth's hand, without blighting his chance of acceptance.

The King of Spain, on his side, was watching her with tremulous anxiety. On the first intimation of the measure brought forward in Parliament, he feared it would be his duty to withdraw the offer of his hand;² but Alva whom he consulted dissuaded him. The Duke was unable to believe that she could reject such a magnificent alliance. Her allegiance to the Church would be a condition of the contract, and the Acts of one Parliament could be undone by another.³ Still impatient, Philip wrote to De Feria, bidding him implore Elizabeth

¹ Speech of the Queen *Commons' Journals*, D'EWES, i Elizabeth.

² Philip II. to the Duke of Alva, February 9 *MS Simancas*.

³ Alva to Philip *Ibid*.

to reconsider what she was doing; if entreaties failed, he left it to the ambassador's discretion to menace her with the chance of losing him.¹ De Feria however agreed with Alva: if Elizabeth would become Philip's wife the Catholics would resume their ground with ease; if not, neither menace nor remonstrance would be of any avail. 'I have ceased,' he wrote on the 20th of February, 'to speak to her about religion, although I see her rushing upon perdition. If the marriage can be brought about, the rest will provide for itself; if she refuse, nothing which I can say will move her. She is so misled by the heretics who fill her court and council that I should but injure our chances in the principal matter by remonstrating.'²

Elizabeth understood the situation, and used her advantage. The Parliament, after thanking her for the gracious answer which they construed into a consent,³

Feb 11 went on with their work On the 11th of February the English Litany was read in the Lower House, the members all kneeling; on the 13th the Supremacy Bill came on again, and large differences of opinion at once revealed themselves.⁴ As first brought before the Commons, the Act restored to the Queen the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which was origin-

¹ Philip II. to De Feria, February 12 *MS Simancas*

² De Feria to Philip II, February 20 *Ibid*

³ Five days later, a committee of the Commons had a conference with the Lords in the Star Chamber, to

determine the rank which the Queen's husband should hold. — D'Ewes' *Journals*, I Elizabeth

⁴ 'Sir Antony Cooke defends a scheme of his own, and is very angry with all of us' — Jewel to Peter Martyr *Zurich Letters*, p 32

ally assumed by her father.¹ Two days' discussion led to no result; and to judge from the surviving fragment of a single speech, the language of the Catholics was indecently passionate. Dr Story had been a notorious instrument in the Marian persecution, and serving as such men ever serve, the cause which they most oppose, he dared to boast of his past atrocities. 'I wish for my part,' he said, 'that I had done more than I did, and that I and others had been more vehement in executing the laws! I threw a faggot in the face of an earwig at the stake at Uxbridge as he was singing a psalm, and set a bushel of thorns under his feet, and I see nothing to be ashamed of or sorry for. It grieves me that they laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root.'²

Story perhaps thought less triumphantly of his Uxbridge exploit when long years after he was entrapped on board a trader at Antwerp, and carried to London to die there. He could boast of his crimes in the English Parliament, but the hate which he had generated against himself dogged his footsteps and overtook him at last

The Supremacy Bill went back to a Committee. a week later it was re-introduced, slightly, though not materially, altered; and again the opposition was so violent that it would have been lost except for Cecil, who, in De Feria's words, 'flung the question into a gar-

¹ Speech of Archbishop Heath
STORY'S *Annals*, vol 1 part II p

² STORY'S *Annals*, vol 1 part
1 p 115

boyl,' and carried his point in the confusion.¹ In the shape in which it was sent to the Peers the new Act scarcely differed from that of Henry the Eighth, either in the title which it gave to the Queen, in the oaths which every subject was required to swear, or in the penalties which were to follow on refusal. The bishops assured the Spanish ambassador that they would sooner die than submit; ² and, encouraged by the resistance in the Commons, and conscious that they were secretly supported by the majority of the English people, they settled down into resolute opposition. In point of learning there was no lay peer capable of arguing with them.³ The vacant seats could not be filled with Protestants till the oaths to the Pope, required at their institution, had been removed by Act of Parliament. Their audience was for the most part neutral or favourable, and, but for Pole's neglect in leaving so many bishoprics unoccupied, De Feria thought the Catholics might have been altogether successful.

Convocation had been sitting by the side of Parlia-

¹ 'Los del Parlamento en la camara de abajo determináron que la suprema potestad ecclesiastica se comprehendera en la corona de los Reyes de Inglaterra; aunque hubo algunos que habláron en favor de la razon, de manera que fué necesario para salir con su maldad que el secretario Cecil metiese la cosa en garbullo, y assi pasó. Quieren hacer que todo el Reyno jure de guardar este articulo y que quien no lo hiciere sea tenido por traydor, como

lo hizo hacer el Rey Henrico'—De Feria to Philip II *MS Simancas.*

² *Ibid*

³ 'The bishops being, as you know, of the Upper House, and having none there of our side to expose their artifices, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and weak men, and easily overreach our little party by their numbers, or their reputation for learning'—Jewel to Peter Martyr *Zurich Letters*, p 22.

ment—the clergy with the bishop at their head had drawn up a protest against the threatened changes, and in five articles had signified their adherence to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, and to the established constitution of the Church.¹

They asserted their absolute belief in transubstantiation, in the sacrifice of the mass, in the overruling rights of the successors of St Peter, in the authority of priests over laymen in ‘all matters of faith and discipline,’ and the first step of the opposition in the House of Lords was the presentation of the unanimous petition of the entire ‘spirituality of England,’ embodying their convictions.²

The Archbishop of York followed it up in a careful and elaborate speech. Avoiding as much as possible all irritating topics, he argued for the Papal authority on its own merits, on the evidence of history, the decisions of councils, and the judgment of the fathers of the Church. The system which had been established by Henry the Eighth had been condemned, he said, both

¹ The five articles were these —, matters of faith and discipline be-

1 ‘That the natural body and blood of Christ is really present in the sacrament by virtue of the words spoken by the priest’ — *SIRYLL'S Annals* vol. i.

2 ‘That after consecration no other substance remains’ — meaning by the Church, not the

3 ‘That the mass offered is a propitiatory sacrifice’ — the bishops and clergy, who never

4 ‘That Peter and Peter’s successors are Christ’s vicars, and supreme rulers in the Church’ — consented as a body to any measure of reformation whatever, except under the judicious compulsion of Hen-

5 ‘That the authority in all, by the Eighth

by Catholic and Protestant; and if the Queen desired to return to it she would be without a friend in either party. There was no intelligible sense in which a temporal sovereign could be head of the Church, and in dealing with the subject at all he considered that Parliament was going beyond its powers.

There was nothing new in these arguments. The supremacy was the well-trodden battle-field of the old campaign between More and Cromwell, Fisher and Cranmer; yet there was no one among the Peers who was capable of answering the Archbishop. Heath, who had been raised to the bench by Henry, had acquiesced once in what he now opposed; and he could represent himself not as new to the subject, but as having gone astray, and as having been brought back to the truth. In its existing shape the Bill could not be carried. English opinion alone would have prevented a measure from again passing into law which might send honest Catholics to the scaffold, and give the longing Protestants their turn at persecution; while even the debate of such a question was compromising English interests at Cambray, and exercising a perilous influence on the humour of Philip, who if pushed too far might make his own terms, and leave England to its fate.

When pressed to say decisively whether she would marry him, Elizabeth at last refused. On the
 Feb 20 20th of February De Feria made his final effort. He spoke to her again of the Queen of Scots. He warned her that if Spain ceased to have an interest in England, the peace of Europe could not be sacrificed

because her sister's carelessness had lost Calais. But 'the devil,' he said, 'had taken possession of her;' 'she was more impatient of menace than of entreaty,' she repeated 'that the Pope could not allow her to marry her brother-in-law,' and she refused entirely to be afraid of France; 'her realm,' she said, 'was not too poor, nor her people too faint-hearted, to defend their liberties at home and to protect their rights abroad, she would not marry, and she would agree to no peace without the restoration of Calais—that was her answer.'¹

As there was no hope that she would change her mind, De Feria recommended Philip not to trouble himself about any other marriage for her, but to instruct his ministers at Cambray to complain to the English representatives of the alteration of religion, and if their remonstrances were unheeded, to make peace at once.

Had nature given Philip a capacity for prompt action, Elizabeth's career might have run out before its time. The shrewdest statesman in England, Lord Paget, though for some reason excluded from her confidence, could not refrain from pressing on Cecil the peril of the crisis. 'If the French invade us by sea or by Scotland,' he said, 'the King of Spain will enter also as our friend or our foe; if we take part with neither of them, they will fasten their feet both of them here and make a Piedmont of us; if we take part with the one, we ourselves shall afterwards be made a prey by the victor.'

¹ De Feria to Philip, February 20 *MS Spanacas*

God save us from the sword! we have been plagued of late with famine and pestilence For God's sake move that good Queen to put her sword in her hand; she shall make the better bargain with her doubtful friends and enemies.'¹

It was easy to advise, it was difficult to execute At this time, England being actually at war with the second power in the world, the whole naval force in commission amounted to seven coast-guard vessels, the largest of which was but 120 tons; and eight small merchant brigs and schooners, altered for fighting. Of ships in harbour fit for service there were twenty-one; one newly built of 800 tons, one of 700, one of 600, one of 500, and one of 400, four from 300 to 200, the rest sloops and boats

In artillery the destitution was even more pitiable. Of cannon and 'demicannon' in all the dock-yards, there were but thirty which were reputed sound; with two hundred culverins, 'minions,' and 'falconets.' Of bows, arrows, lances, corselets, and harquebusses, there were not enough to arm 3000 men² For the troops, Captain Turner, who was sent to command at Portsmouth, and was in daily expectation of a visit from the French, reported to Cecil on the 6th of March that they were all 'grown to disorder and mischief, and to the greatest ill that man's head could imagine.'³

To such a point had England been brought after

¹ Paget to Cecil, February 20, 1559 *BURGHLEY Papers*, vol. 1

² Naval Report, March, 1559 *Domestic MS Elizabeth*, Rolls House

³ Ed Turner to Cecil, March 6 *MS. Ibid.*

eleven years of the government of doctrinaires, Protestant and Catholic. If the suspicions and jealousies of France and Spain had not come to the assistance of Elizabeth's diplomacy, it might have gone hardly with her. She had continued her private correspondence with France. Calais, she insisted, must be restored; her people were determined to have 'that blot to their nation wiped and taken away'. As to its falling to Spain, she was descended of English blood, and not Spanish like her sister, and she and her people might be trusted to take care of it. She was 'good friends' with Philip, 'yet not otherwise bound to him than was for the good of her country and subjects.' The French King had said 'that a way might be found,' and it was not for her to close any avenue that promised her an escape from her difficulties. Her sister had done nothing without the privity and direction of the minister of Spain, she herself being a free princess, intended 'to proceed without participation to the Spaniards of anything, otherwise than for the nature of her matters should seem expedient'.¹

The 'way' intended by Henry he indicated by sending over in return a confidential agent, with the portrait of some unknown prince or nobleman who should take Calais back with him as Elizabeth's dowry. The Queen examined it long and earnestly, but as it seemed with an unfavourable conclusion.² The negotiation fell

¹ Instructions to Guido Cavalcanti, January 29. *FORBES*, vol. 1

² 'Hey he sabido que esta ma-
ñana arrivó aqui de vuelta de Francia Guido Cavalcanti, y luego la Reyna le oyó y ha estado con el un

through, and in a letter still full of friendly expressions, the King of France intimated his regret that he had changed his mind, and that the plan by which he had hoped to end the quarrel was found impracticable.

Thus Elizabeth found herself thrown back upon the solid facts of her position, with her Spanish allies alone to trust to. The congress reopened at Cambray on the 5th of February. The Bishop of Arras, the Duke of Alva, Ruy Gomez, and the Prince of Orange, represented Spain. The Constable Montmorency, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Bishops of Orleans and Limoges, appeared for France, with the Duchess of Lorraine as a neutral and independent president. Dr Wotton and the Bishop of Ely returned from Brussels. The third English commissioner, Lord William Howard, was delayed in London, and did not appear till four days after the opening.

On the evening of his arrival Howard had a private interview with Alva and his colleagues. His last instructions from Elizabeth were to surrender anything except Calais; but to remain firm upon that. Philip on the other hand was weary of the war; he was irritated with Elizabeth, and insisted that he was penniless and that peace must be made¹. Between these contradictory positions the middle term was difficult to find.

gran rato Trae en su compañía un Frances, hombre pequeño Hasta ahora no he podido saber mas sino que me dicen que el Guido trae un retrato que estuvo mirando le Reyna un gran rato.'—De Feria to Alva,

February 29. *MS Sumanecas*

¹ 'Porque yo os digo que yo estoy de todo punto impossibilitado á sostener la guerra'—Philip II to the Duke of Alva, February 12 *GRANVILLE Papers*, vol. v.

The Calais question happily was one in which the Low Countries were interested, and Alva, though he spoke bitterly of the carelessness with which it had been lost, promised that he would do his best for its recovery.

The next day the commissioners met in Feb 13
public Towns taken in war, Lord Howard
said, were as a matter of course restored at the making of peace; Calais belonged to England, and the French had no right to persist in keeping it. The French replied promptly that Calais was a French town which at all hazards they meant to keep; their commission in fact did not allow them to consider the surrender of it as possible. A long argument ensued, but absolutely without result, and the day closed apparently without a hope of agreement.

No sooner however had the meeting broken up than the Constable drew Howard apart, and warned him against trusting Philip, who desired only to annex Calais to the Low Countries. From Howard Montmorancy went to Alva to express his astonishment that the Spaniards should sacrifice themselves to the selfish interests of England, there was Crêpy for a precedent, and the peace of Europe was more important than a single town. The Dauphiness moreover was the true Queen of England, and if France surrendered Calais, it must be to her.¹

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that the Dauphiness

¹ 'Donnant assez à entendre | II, Feb 13 *Granville Papers*,
qu'ils ne tiennent la Reyne pour | vol v.
Reyne.'—Alva and Arras to Philip |

was the one person whose pretensions in the existing state of Europe the Spaniards could not recognize, and to whom Elizabeth with all her heresies was preferable. For Elizabeth herself they cared nothing, but they dreaded an increase to the power of France; and they cared much for the sympathies of the English Catholics, whom they would alienate for ever by deserting English interests. Notwithstanding Philip's orders, Alva was compelled to assure Montmorency that Spain would be true to her ally. Montmorency with equal firmness insisted that Calais if it belonged to England at all belonged to Mary Stuart, and that to her alone should it be given. Thus much only Henry might be induced to yield. Elizabeth might be left in undisturbed possession of the crown of England, on condition that her children should intermarry with Mary Stuart's children, son to daughter, and daughter to son; France meanwhile should keep Calais for eight years, as England had kept Boulogne, and the question of right could be referred in the interval to arbitration.

Proposals of marriage between children not yet born meant obviously nothing. In communicating to Lord Howard what Montmorency had said, the Duke of Alva expressed no opinion on the course which England should pursue, he desired only that his proposal should be made known to Elizabeth, and he accompanied Howard's despatch with a letter of his own to the Count de Feria. By accepting the French offer Elizabeth would gain breathing time; if the conference broke up ineffectually on her account, he said she must be pre-

pared for exertions of which, in its present exhaustion, he believed England to be incapable—at the same time it was not to be supposed that the French would keep any promise which they might make of restoring Calais at the completion of the term, if the Queen accepted peace on the terms now proposed, it must be by her own act, the King of Spain would neither advise nor dissuade, and if she cared to continue the struggle in a serious spirit, she might rely on his co-operation.¹

If England had remained orthodox—if Elizabeth had accepted Philip, he would have spent his last ducat to bring France upon her knees, under existing circumstances the Spaniards were justified in adhering to the letter of their engagement Elizabeth inquired what Alva meant by larger exertions, and in what time and by what means he thought that Calais could be recovered. If the allied armies, Alva replied, were to invade France in force for two or three consecutive years, there was no doubt that they could force the French King to any condition they pleased, and in that case the King of Spain would sell all that he had to see England righted.² But Alva well knew what England must answer, and after a pang of indignation and disappointment, Elizabeth commissioned Howard to accept the best terms which he could obtain

¹ Alva and Alras to the Count de Feria, Feb 13 *Granvelle Papers* Howard, Wotton, and Ely to Elizabeth, February 14 FORBLS, vol 1 De Feria to Alva, February 29 *MS Sumancas*.

² 'Y que en este caso sabemos cierto que V M^a aunque se hubiese de vender todo se esforçaria para ayudar á la Reyna'—Alva and Alras to Philip II, February 26. *Granvelle Papers*, vol v.

‘It appeared,’ the Duke wrote to Philip, ‘that all they could do was to attack Scotland, leaving the Continent to us. We told them that to such conditions your Majesty could not agree : if they would do their part, your Majesty would do yours ; but they must remember that your Majesty’s differences were already arranged, and that your people could not and would not endure the burden of the war only in a quarrel of theirs. They asked us what we would have them do, and we brought them at last to this : we undertook to demand and to urge, by all means short of breaking off the negotiation, the restoration of Calais pure and simple ; if this was refused, to demand the town and harbour without the Pale : if we could not obtain this, the English would consent to leave France in possession for eight years ; we, on our parts engaging, if the place was not then restored, to go to war, and assist them to recover it.’¹

So matters stood at Cambray when the Supremacy Bill was first introduced to the Upper House, and it is easy to understand why the Government at such a crisis were in no haste to press it.

The two first conditions the French rejected immediately and absolutely. The third would have been rejected also, but to their vexation and no small astonishment, Philip’s commissioners united with the English to present it as an ultimatum ; and with the certainty that if they refused, the conference would break up, they referred for instructions to Paris

¹ *Granvelle Papers*, vol. v

Since he had resolved at all hazards to keep Calais, the King of France was unwilling to bind himself by a promise which he had predetermined to break. He flinched however before the attitude of Spain, and said that he would restore it after the eight years if the English would take his word for their security, and if in the mean time the fortifications might be dismantled, and the port be made purely mercantile. Again however the English found their allies faithful to them. The Bishop of Arras would have had Philip put his troops in motion, 'the French being a people more affected by force than argument.'¹ 'For myself,' Arras wrote to the Duke of Savoy, 'I hold it certain that if we yield to them in a matter so unreasonable they will presume on our weakness and will withdraw from many things which they have accorded in Piedmont and elsewhere; there is no fair dealing to be had unless we show our teeth.'²

It was insisted that the works should be maintained unimpaired, that when the eight years were expired, the town should be given up in the condition in which it had been lost, and the bare word of France not being considered good,³ the allies demanded further the ignominious guarantee of hostages.

² Seeing that it was useless to persevere further, the

¹ Arras to the Comte de Megha,
February 28 *Granville Papers*,
vol. v

² Arras to the Duke of Savoy,
March 11 *Ibid.*

³ 'Los Franceses les prometerán
de volver á Calais dentro de los seis
[ocho] años y despues guardarán la
verdad que suelen'—De Feria to
Alva, February 29 *MS Simancas*.

March. French gave way, and on the 12th of March a final arrangement was concluded by which they bound themselves to deliver Calais, Guisnes, and the whole Pale intact in its existing condition at the time stated, or else to forfeit half a million crowns, and leave the English claim unimpaired, to evacuate and raze the fortresses which they had built on the Scotch border, and to give substantial bonds for the money. As a last precaution, the Spanish commissioners required that the Dauphin and Dauphiness should confirm the treaty, and directly recognize Elizabeth's right to the Crown

Thus had Spain fulfilled its bond, and England was extricated from its difficulties with better conditions than might have been looked for. The King of Navarre wrote indeed to Elizabeth to assure her of the lasting regard of Henry; to tell her that all which she had gained at Cambray would have been conceded more willingly in a private treaty; and that although the immediate opportunity was lost, 'a way' would soon be found again to settle the question more definitively. But Navarre was a feeble rival to the Duke of Guise. The liberal party in France had been permitted to try their hand at making a separate treaty with England, but they had failed, and with their failure they lost their influence at Henry's Court. The Guises, ultramontane in creed, and haters of England in politics, were only eager for an occasion to reopen the war, and set themselves free from their embarrassing engagements. The treaty was signed by the King and ratified by the Dauphin and Dauphiness in the

terms which had been extorted. But Mary Stuart at the same moment assumed the royal arms of England, and the Dauphin in the ratification of the separate treaty concluded with Spain, dared to subscribe himself 'Francis by the grace of God King of Scotland, England, and Ireland, Dauphin of France' ¹

In England the first and immediate effect of the peace was the reappearance of the Supremacy Bill. On the 13th of March it was read a second time. On the 18th, after 'certain provisions and amendments,' it came on again, and Scot, Bishop of Chester, made a last effort to throw it out. At length, and with some power, he exhausted the usual arguments for the unity of the Church, he dwelt upon the distractions of Christendom since the introduction of the new opinions; and asking what security there would be for the preservation of the faith in a Church cut off from the body of Christ, he said that there were already in Europe thirty-four Protestant communions, all differing from one another, yet 'every one of them saying and affirming constantly that their profession was builded upon Christ, alleging Scripture for the same' ²

But he spoke to a deaf audience. The bishops had the best of the argument, but they had fallen on evil times, and were outvoted. Montague supported them, and Shrewsbury supported them; but to the great body

¹ 'Quand ledict Anas eust entendu que l'Angleterre estoit compris le dedans il se print a rire'—Intelligence of a commission, wherein the French King used the style of

England *Scotch MSS, Elizabeth, Record Office*

² Speech of the Bishop of Chester in Parliament—STEWART'S *Annals*, Appendix No 7

of the English laity, orthodox and unorthodox, a foreign jurisdiction was essentially hateful. They did not mean to imitate Henry the Eighth, and make war upon it with the axe and quartering knife; but the thing itself they were determined to end. The bill was read a third time, and in its altered shape went back to the Commons, and Elizabeth could now receive the Spanish ambassador with confidence and smiles.

‘I found her resolved,’ De Feria wrote to Philip,¹ ‘to maintain the proceedings in Parliament; Cecil, Sir Francis Knolles, and their friends, have gained her over

‘After we had talked a short time, she said she could not have married your Majesty because she was a heretic. I said I was astonished to hear her use such words; I asked her why her language was now so different from what it had been. But she would give me no explanation, the heretics, with their friend the devil, are working full speed, they must have told her that your Majesty’s object in proposing for her was only to save religion.

‘She spoke carelessly, indifferently, altogether unlike herself, and she said positively that she meant to do as her father had done. I told her I would not believe that she was a heretic—I could not think it possible she would sanction the new laws—if she changed her religion she would ruin herself. Your Majesty, I said, would not separate yourself from the Church for all the thrones in the world.

¹ De Feria to Philip II, March 19 *MS Simancas*.

‘So much the less, she replied, should your Majesty do it for a woman

‘I did not wish to be too harsh with her, so I said men sometimes did for a woman what they would do for nothing else

‘She told me she did not intend to be called Head of the Church, but she would not let her subjects’ money be carried out of the realm to the Pope any more, and she called the bishops a set of lazy scamps¹

‘The ‘scamps,’ I said, were the preachers to whom she had been listening; and I added that it was small credit to her to allow any vagabond from Germany to get into the pulpit in her presence, and to talk trash to her

‘At this moment Knolles came in to tell her that supper was ready—a story made for the occasion I fancy They dislike nothing so much as her conversations with me I took my leave for that tune, saying merely that she was no longer the Queen Elizabeth whom I had known hitherto, that I was ill-satisfied with her words to me, and that if she went on thus she was a lost woman

‘Cecil governs the Queen, he is an able man, though an accursed heretic Parliament came to its resolution on the morning on which the news came from Cambray, it was this which gave them confidence; and it is a bad return for all your Majesty’s kindness That she will confirm their hateful and vile measures there is no sort of doubt. The bishops if necessary are ready to die

¹ ‘Y que los obispos eran grandes poltrones.’

for the truth ; your Majesty would admire the courage which they are showing. With your Majesty's leave I would sooner spend your money upon them than on the false traitors who have sold their God and their country's honour.¹ Religion will triumph at last ; of that I am sure, for the Catholics are two-thirds of the realm ; but I had rather the work was done by your Majesty than that it should lapse to the French. Your Majesty will pardon me if I pass beyond my office. I am so wretched at what I see that I cannot refrain from speaking.'

A few days later De Feria wrote again—'I know for certain that the news of the peace gave the Parliament the courage to act as they have done—they were afraid before, lest your Majesty should leave them in the lurch. I told the Queen I was indeed astonished that she should have permitted such a thing ; I could only hope that after all she would refuse her own consent. I reminded her that she had desired me to write nothing to your Majesty so long as that consent had been withheld ; I had relied upon her word, and now I feared your Majesty might hear of what had passed from some other source, and be justly displeased

'She repeated what she said before, that she was not going to be Head of the Church, or to administer the sacraments, with more of the same sort which was both false and foolish. She asked me haughtily if your Majesty intended to be angry with her for having mass

¹ 'Estos fementados' The allusion is to the many English noble-men to whom life-pensions were given by Philip at the time of his marriage with Mary

in English. I said I could not tell that, but this I could tell, that she was on the high road to lose her throne, and I for my own part should be sorry to see it. She had had opportunities enough of judging what your Majesty's feelings were towards her, and my business was to tell her the truth, and to point out to her the danger in which she stood. I knew what her resources were, I knew what your Majesty's resources were, and what those of France were, and her only chance was to remain on good terms with your Highness.

'She said she did not mean to quarrel with France; she intended only to maintain herself in her own realm as her father had done.

'I told her she was mistaken; she could not do it. She talked of imitating her father; and yet she kept about her a parcel of Lutheran and Zuinglian rogues that King Henry would have sent to the stake. May God and your Majesty provide a remedy for these misdoings! The Pope must be informed of what has taken place in Parliament here. It is not at all as it was in the times of Henry or Edward, when all alike were compromised. If his Holiness proceed against the Queen and the realm, he must exempt the bishops and Convocation, who have been loud in their protests of allegiance to the Church. The majority of the people out of Parliament are innocent also; and it is of high importance that the distinction be observed in the bull, to confirm the faithful in their allegiance, while it blasts and overwhelms the heretics.

‘I had forgotten to tell your Majesty that Lady Catherine¹ is a good friend of mine, and talks to me in confidence. The Queen, she says, does not like to think of her as her possible successor. The late Queen took her into the privy chamber and was kind to her. She complains that now she is out of favour and finds nothing but discourtesy. I keep on good terms with my Lady Catherine. She promises me for her part not to change her religion, and not to marry without my consent.’²

The fear of Philip on receiving this letter was that Elizabeth in despair of retaining his own friendship would accept the hand which France had at first held out to her. In the late reign Henry the Second had been her firmest friend. His religion all Europe was aware depended on the convenience of the moment, and although the opportunity had probably passed and the French Court had now determined to play the card of the Queen of Scots, the uneasy orthodoxy of the King of Spain was haunted with the dread of an Anglo-Gallican alliance, which would at once turn the scale in the balance of power against himself, and would postpone or prevent for ever his intended crusade against heresy. Or, if this danger were no longer to be anticipated, the English Catholics might declare for Mary Stuart, and

¹ Lady Catherine Grey, Lady Jane's sister, who had been married (in form only) to the son of Lord Pembroke at the time of the Northumberland conspiracy. The marriage had been declared invalid, but

Lady Jane being dead, Lady Catherine, by the will of Henry the Eighth, was next in succession to the Crown.

² De Feria to Philip II, March 23 *MS Simancas*

the political mischief would be at least equally serious. France would then have earned the chief gratitude of the Papacy. France would be the first power in Europe, and Piedmont, Lombardy, and perhaps the Low Countries themselves, would drop into Henry's hands.

Philip therefore replied with charging De Feria to prevent if it was not too late the passing of the Acts of Parliament, but whether they were passed or not to say nothing to alarm Elizabeth, and to assure her he was as much her friend as ever.¹ He directed him to do everything in his power to prevent an insurrection, to soothe the Catholics privately with promises, and if they broke out into rebellion to avoid committing himself to their support. If he saw them likely to succeed, he might secretly give them money, but even then he must not offend the friends of the Queen, lest they should call in the French.

For himself, Philip said, he had determined to stay for the present in Flanders. He had put off his intended return to Spain, and would hold his ships and troops in readiness to take advantage of any opportunity which might offer itself.²

¹ 'Y en caso que no se pudiese remediar esto, procuraseis de entretener con la Reyna en buena gracia y detenerla muy descuidada y asegurada en mi amistad porque no se le diese ocasion temiendo lo contrario de llegarse á los Franceses y valeise dellos, aunque no parece que sea verisimil que ella se ose fiar de que tiene en ese Reyno tal pretension, y no dessea sino ocasion para procurar de echarla del'—Philip II to the Count de Feria *MS Simancas*

² Philip II to the Count de Feria. *MS Simancas* Thinking it likely that Elizabeth might ask to see his letter, Philip sent a second

At the same moment, bidding adieu to his hope of Elizabeth of England, the King of Spain transferred his addresses to Elizabeth of France. Among the conditions of peace sketched in the preceding autumn at Cercamp, the daughter of Henry and Catherine de Medici had been proposed as a bride for Don Carlos. The father was now substituted for the son. After a brief private correspondence the exchange was brought forward at Cambray, on the 2nd of April, by Montmorency. It was accepted on the spot by Alva; and so rapidly was everything arranged, that the very next day the marriage treaty, complete in all its parts, received the signatures of the French and Spanish commissioners.

Meantime the Supremacy Bill with its new provisions went back to the Commons, where it was once more altered, and sent again to the Lords—flying between the two Houses like a shuttlecock, till the 22nd of March, when it appeared to be at last settled, the title of Supreme Head being given by it to the Queen. The more dangerous question of doctrine was yet untouched, and on Good Friday, the 24th, Parliament was prorogued to celebrate Easter with a scene of spiritual pageantry. The mass still continued; the Catholic ritual had possession of the churches, and the litany with parts of the communion service alone as yet were read in English. The clergy, with remarkable

with the same date, and in the same packet, containing vague expressions of general friendliness, which De

Feria, if necessary, could show.
MS Simancas.

unanimity, had pronounced against all change; and decency required that for a religious reformation there should be some semblance or shadow of spiritual sanction.

On the 31st therefore there was held in ^{March 31.} Westminster Abbey a theological tournament. Eight champions on either side were chosen for the engagement. Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Archbishop of York kept the lists; the Lords and Commons were the audience—for whose better instruction the combat was to be conducted in English.

The subjects of controversy were—

1. The use of prayer in a tongue unknown to the people.

2. The right of local churches to change their ceremonies, if the edification of the people required it. And,

3. The propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, said to be offered in the mass.

As a limit to diffuseness, the arguments were to be produced in writing and to the Catholics, in affected deference to their rank, was given the honour and the disadvantage of precedence. On their side were four bishops—White, Baynes, Scot, and Watson; with four doctors—Cole, who had preached at Cranmer's martyrdom; Harpsfeld, Pole's delegate, the inquisitor of Canterbury; Chedsey, Bonner's chaplain, and Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes.

The Protestants were returned refugees; men who had kept prudently out of the way while their opinions were dangerous to themselves, but had reappeared with

security. The true battle on these great questions had been fought and won at the stake. The Aylmers, the Jewels, the Grindals, were not of the metal which makes martyrs, but they were skilful talkers, admirable 'divines,' with sufficient valour for the sham fight in which they were required only to walk with decorum over the course. They had conviction enough—though Jewel at least had saved his life by apostasy—to be quite willing to persecute their adversaries, they were as little capable as the Catholics of believing that heaven's gate-keepers acknowledged any passport, save in terms of their own theology; and on the whole they were well selected for the work which they had to do.¹

It had been contrived that throughout the controversy the Protestants should have the last word. The Bishops either resenting the unfairness of the arrangement, or having as they said really misunderstood it, there was some confusion, and when the moment came they were unprepared to begin. After some hesitation however Cole was put forward to speak on the first point, and according to the account of Jewel conducted himself with no particular dignity. He stamped, frowned, raved, snapped his fingers, and if not convincing, was at least abusive. In argument he stated what was of course true, that at a time when there was no regularly-formed English language, the public service was conducted in Latin, and that in the first centuries of Christianity

¹ The English names are well known to readers of English Church history. They are Scory, Grindal, Coxe, Whitehead, Aylmer, Hoine, Guest, and Jewel.

Latin liturgies had been used in the Latin churches, and Greek in the Greek, but the inference that either Latin or Greek should be used in a country where it was not understood scarcely followed.

The counter-statements of the Protestants were then read by Horne. They consisted of appeals to the Bible and tradition. The service of God was asserted to be a reasonable service of the mind and heart, and not a magical superstition. All rituals had a meaning, which was intended to be intelligible; and generally the position was maintained that words—human words—whenever used were meant to be understood.

With this the first day's proceedings ended; the discussion was adjourned till Monday, and the Catholics were requested to comply for the future with the prescribed form, that the second proposition might be argued more completely.

On Monday however things went no better. Bacon invited the Bishops to commence. White answered that he desired first to reply on the argument of the preceding day. He was told that he might reply on the whole subject when the three propositions had each had their separate consideration. Watson said that they had mistaken the directions, and that on the first head his party had not been heard at all, Doctor Cole had spoken extempore, and had given only his own private opinion. The Lord Keeper regretted their misconception, but was unable to permit the prescribed order to be interrupted; and after some recrimination the Bishops agreed to proceed.

But here another difficulty arose. They had been assigned priority, and they preferred to follow; they protested with some reason that it was not for them to prove the Church's doctrine to be true, they professed the old established faith of Christendom, and if it was attacked, they were ready to answer objections; let the Protestants produce their difficulties, and they would reply to them.

They did not and would not understand that they were but actors in a play, of which the finale was already arranged, that they were spoiling its symmetry by altering the plan.

The Lord Keeper replied that they must adhere to their programme, or the performance could not go forward. He asked them one by one if they would proceed. They refused. He appealed to the Abbot of Westminster; and the Abbot of Westminster agreed with the Bishops.

If that was their resolution then, the Lord Keeper said, the discussion was ended—and ended by their fault. They had refused to accept the order prescribed by the Queen, and they should not make an order of their own. 'But forasmuch as,' he concluded significantly, 'ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us.'

From the first the Tower had been the destined resting-place for the Catholic prelates. The Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester were at once committed for contempt. The rest were bound in recognizances to

appear daily at the Council Chamber, and to remain in London till further orders.¹

The Parliament was then left to do the work by itself. The Houses met again on the 3rd of April, and business recommenced with a message from the Queen. Thanking them for the goodwill which they had shown in the Supremacy Bill, Elizabeth refused, as she had promised De Feria, the title which was offered her, and desired that the rights of the Crown might be secured some other way. After so many alterations the Commons were unwilling to make fresh changes,² but a variation of phrase was all that was necessary; and the Act was then conclusively passed—the same essentially—though with its edge slightly blunted—which had originally severed England from the jurisdiction of Rome. The Crown became once more, ‘in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme;’ and the bishops and clergy were required to forswear obedience to the Papacy—no longer under the pains of high treason, but as a condition of admission to their benefices. The Statutes of Henry the Fourth and Fifth against heresy, with the Act of Mary which revived them, were again repealed; and the Church authorities were forbidden to proceed against any person for any manner of opinion, except such as had been condemned by the first four General Councils, or by the plain words of Scripture, or such as might at

¹ Privy Council Register, *Elizabeth* A° 1 MS

² De Feria to Philip, April 11 MS *Simancas*

a future time be declared heretical by Parliament and Convocation.¹

Thus the broken idol which Pole had so laboriously replaced was once more flung down from its pedestal. Dagon had fallen at last for ever, and De Feria again applied to his master for instructions.

Touching first on other matters, he described the manner in which Elizabeth had received the news of Philip's marriage. 'She affected,' he said, 'one or two little sighs, and then with a smile observed her name was a fortunate one. I told her I was very sorry; but the fault was more with her than with your Majesty; she knew how unwilling I had been to accept her refusal. She admitted the truth of my words; but she said your Majesty could not have been so very much in love with her, or you would have waited three or four months. She did not seem to like it, though two or three of the council, she told me, were delighted'

'Both she and they,' the letter continued, 'are alarmed at your alliance with France, and fear that it bodes no good to them. That pestilential scoundrel Cecil tried to persuade me that they would have liked nothing better than to go on with the war. I bade him say that to some one less well acquainted with the state of the country than I was. Lord Sussex, heretic as he is, has warned the council that Ireland will rebel if they enforce the alteration of religion there; and the Welsh counties tell Pembroke to send no preachers across the

¹ Statutes of the Realm, i *Elizabeth*, cap. 1.

marches, or they will not return alive. The Queen I think would now be glad if she had been less precipitate. Two of the bishops are in the Tower. By entreaties and threats I have delayed the catastrophe as long as possible, but the country is lost to us now body and soul, and it is time for your Majesty to see to it. You have made peace with France; you are at leisure and can do what you please.

‘There are two sides to the matter. As to religion, I do not pretend to measure your Majesty’s obligations. I can more fully say that the Catholics hold your Majesty responsible for the position in which they find themselves. But as a question of public policy you are aware of the just claims of the Queen of Scots, you know the defenceless state of the kingdom and the temptation presented to the King of France by the extreme facility of the conquest, and surely this is a catastrophe which you are bound to prevent. You have desired me to keep things quiet, not to quarrel with the Queen, and not to interfere in religion. I have obeyed your Majesty to the best of my powers, but it is still to be seen how far this can be done. Setting God’s honour out of the question, each step forward which they take in heresy threatens the peace of the realm. The King of France you are aware will appeal to the Pope, the Pope will excommunicate the Queen, declare her illegitimate, and pronounce in favour of the Dauphiness, and your Majesty will be more perplexed than ever to know how to act. The French will enter England in the name of Holy Church: the Catholics will un-

questionably join them : and how your Majesty can take arms against God—against justice, against truth—I confess myself unable to see. To allow them to succeed (and I am terrified to think how easy it will be for them) is politically ruinous to you ; and to see these things as I see them, and yet to forbear to speak, would be treason against God and your Majesty ’

So appeared England and England’s chances to spectators not wholly led astray by Catholic sympathies, who nevertheless were mistaken in the one vital point. That which to them seemed a cause of weakness was in fact the secret spring of recovering life. Under the paralyzing grasp of spiritual tyranny the arm of England hung nerveless by its side. When the free blood was in her veins again she would renew her youth like the moulting eagle.

The doctrinal question came next. The commission for revising the Prayer-book had been busily at work, and on the 18th of April a proposal for its restoration was brought forward in the House of Commons.

The object had been so to frame the constitution of the Church of England that disloyalty alone should exclude a single English subject from its communion who in any true sense could be called a Christian ; so to frame its formulas that they might be patient of a Catholic or Protestant interpretation, according to the views of this or that sect of the people ; that the Church should profess and teach a uniform doctrine in essen-

¹ De Feria to Philip, April. *MS. Sumancoas.*

tials—as the word was understood by the latitudinarians of the age; while in non-essentials it should contain ambiguous phrases, resembling the many watchwords which divided the world, and thus enable Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zuinglian to insist each that the Church of England was theirs

The ‘Articles’ were left in abeyance, and happy it would have been for the Church of England had they never been revived. The rubrics of Edward’s second book were modified, allowing large latitude in the use of ornaments and vestments. In the communion service the words were restored which seemed to recognize the real presence, while the words also were not rejected which seemed equally to reduce the sacrament to a commemorative form.¹

Thus altered the Prayer-book was presented to Parliament. The Genevan refugees clamoured that they had not been consulted, that ‘fooleries were made of consequence,’ and that ‘truth was sacrificed to a

¹ King Edward’s second book appointeth only these words to be used when the bread is delivered at the Communion—‘Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving,’ and when the cup is delivered—‘Drink this in remembrance that Christ’s blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.’ Whereas, in Her Majesty’s book, on the delivering of the bread, these words must be said—‘The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee,

preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this, &c.,’ and at the delivery of the cup, these words—‘The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this.’—*STRYPE, Annals*, vol. 1 part 1 p. 224. The careful student of the Prayer-book will find the two lines of antagonistic thought represented in the alternative Prayer, which are left to the choice of the clergyman.

lead en mediocrity' At the heart of the matter it was they who were giving importance to what was of no importance, it was they who considered exactness of opinion a necessary condition of Christianity They would have erected with all their hearts a despotism as hard, as remorseless, as blighting as the Romanist Happily they found few among the laity to share their views, and they were not permitted to run their own cause. In the Commons there was no opposition, in the Lords the bishops still resisted, and they found a support which they had not met with on the Supremacy Bill Lord Montague alone of the lay peers had opposed absolutely the separation from the Papacy The old Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and six other noblemen¹ voted against an alteration of the services

The mass however was not to be saved The Bishop of Ely, who had returned from Cambray, said that he would perish rather than see it put away,² but to no purpose The Act of Uniformity³ passed its three readings in three successive days,⁴ and Cranmer's liturgy became again the law of the land.

The revolution was complete The organization of the country resumed the solid and secular character by which, under Henry the Eighth, in the words of the Statute of Supremacy, 'the realm was kept continually in

¹ Lords Morley, Stafford, Wharton, Rich, North, and Ambrose Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland's eldest son

² De Feria to Philip II MS *Simancas*

³ 1 *Elizabeth*, cap 2

⁴ April 26, 27, 28

good order,' and the interests of England were no longer to be sacrificed to the passions of religious partisans. The vessel of the State, though heaving dangerously in the after-roll, was again on her right course, and began slowly to draw away out of the breakers.

Elizabeth when called on by De Feria to explain the doctrines which her people were to believe found a difficulty in making herself intelligible. She told him first that the Confession of Augsburg would be received in England, and when he expressed his surprise she told him it would not be precisely that confession. It would be something like it, and yet different. 'in fact' she said, 'she believed almost as Catholics believed, for she held that God was really present in the sacrament.

'However,' De Feria continued,¹ 'she would not argue with me, and I was as little anxious to argue as she was, but I told her I should like to know what the religion was to be, for so far as I could hear there were as many opinions in England as in Germany, and I could not but be surprised that while other princes were laying down their arms and seeking leisure to compose these questions, she who had found her realm in good Catholic order had thrown it back into confusion. She had repealed the good and pious laws of your Majesty and her sister, and had there been nothing else to restrain her, the obligations under which she lay to your Majesty should alone have made her hesitate.

'She said that the laws which she had repealed had

¹ De Feria to Philip II, April 29. *MS. Spanacas*

been made by her sister before her marriage ; your Majesty knew from the first what her opinions were, and so did her sister

‘I assured her your Majesty knew nothing of the kind

‘She professed to be very angry at some comedy in which your Majesty had been insulted, and she said she would have the writer of it punished. Such things, I replied, were of small importance compared to the others ; although both in jest and earnest she would do well to protect your Majesty from impertinence. and I mentioned by the way that I knew the plan of the comedy to have been furnished by one of her council. It was Cecil—she herself half admitted it to me. But religion, she went on, was a question of conscience, in which in life and death she meant to be constant. She wished she could have three hours’ conversation with your Majesty, and she said in conclusion that she hoped to be saved as well as the Bishop of Rome.’

May A few subsidiary measures now finished the work of legislature. Elizabeth’s title was defended by a treason act, the monasteries which Mary had refounded were again dissolved, and on Monday the 8th of May, in the Queen’s presence, the Lord Keeper thanked the two Houses for the patience with which they had discussed the grave and weighty matters submitted to them, recommended them to be as diligent in seeing the laws executed as they had been careful in framing them, and declared the Parliament at an end

Distracted between his creed and his policy, the King of Spain notwithstanding De Feria's urgency durst not interfere. He was persuaded firmly that without his help Elizabeth's throne could not stand, and he felt himself the responsible cause of the success of what he most detested. To avoid if possible the dilemma with which his ambassador had threatened him, he wrote to the Pope, making the most of Elizabeth's solitary act of virtue in refusing to be called Head of the Church, and requesting him to suspend his censures till other means had been tried.¹ He bade De Feria make Elizabeth feel the fresh obligations under which he had thus placed her, and press upon her the insanity of a course which eventually would drive him from her side. Meanwhile since she had declined his own hand he had looked out another husband for her, and sent her the choice of his cousins Ferdinand and Charles the Austrian Archdukes.

This last suggestion De Feria now warmly approved. He had discovered, he said, that Elizabeth was not likely to have children, and if the Archdukes were men, either of them might with the help which Philip would give him make himself master of the kingdom at her death.²

¹ 'Me ha parecido que era tiempo de hacer oficio con su Santidad, y así he mandado despachar sobre ello á Roma avisando á su Santidad del estado en que está lo de ahí, y de la esperanza que todavía se tiene del remedio, y lo que yo lo deseo y procuro, y que hasta ver lo que aprovecha de lo qual yo avisaré á su Santidad no innovo cosa ninguna'—

Philip to De Feria, May MS *Simancas*

² 'Si las espías no me mienten, que no creo, entiendo que ella no tendrá hijos, pero si el Archiduque es hombre, aunque ella se muera sin ellos, se podrá quedar con el Reyno teniendo las espaldas de V M^a.'—De Feria to Philip II, April 29 MS *Simancas*

He laid the proposal before Elizabeth, who affected to listen most graciously. He assured Philip that there was every prospect of success. His own relations with her however had become so constrained through these repeated differences, that he thought the negotiation could be better conducted by another hand: to recall him, he said, would be a significant and public censure on the revolution, and would confirm the constancy of the Catholics, while for himself he admitted that he found it no easy matter to deal with a woman whose humours were so uncertain, and who was surrounded by advisers too blind and stupid 'to comprehend their situation' ¹

Sir William Cecil and his friends 'comprehended their situation' more entirely perhaps than De Feria himself. They were confident that so long as the only possible rival to Elizabeth was the Dauphiness of France, they might feel sure of Philip, let them do what they would. De Feria's request however was complied with. In an autograph letter full of warmth and friendliness Philip announced to Elizabeth that his ambassador's presence was required in Flanders, but that his place should be immediately supplied ². De Feria left London, and the Austrian marriage became immediately the all-absorbing topic of public interest in England, in the Low Countries, and throughout Europe.

To the English generally there was everything to recommend it. The house of Burgundy was tra-

¹ De Feria to Philip II, April 29 *MS. Simancas*

² Philip II to Elizabeth *MS. Hatfield*

ditionally popular. Whatever De Feria might dream, there could be no serious peril to English liberty from the younger son of an Austrian emperor, and the nation was feverishly anxious to see the Queen provided with a husband. Elizabeth herself felt and admitted its desirableness. There was but a 'little cloud, scarce bigger than a man's hand,' which shadowed De Feria's hopes. 'They tell me,' he wrote before leaving England, 'that she is enamoured of my Lord Robert Dudley, and will never let him leave her side. He offers me his services in behalf of the Archduke, but I doubt whether it will be well to use them. He is in such favour that people say she visits him in his chamber day and night. Nay, it is even reported that his wife has a cancer on the breast, and that the Queen waits only till she die to marry him.'¹

Of the Lord Robert Dudley it is scarcely necessary to say much. As every one knows, he was the younger son of the Duke of Northumberland, and was now about twenty-nine years old.

The wife spoken of was Anne daughter of Sir John Robsart, whom Lord Robert had married when little more than a boy. Though the ceremony had been public—at the Court of Edward the Sixth—it had been a love match of a doubtful kind,² and the marriage had not been a happy one. The lady lived apart from her husband, at a manor-house in Oxfordshire, and was

¹ De Feria to Philip, April 18 and April 29. *MS Simanca*.

² Cecil, in a note on Lord Robert's character, spoke of it afterwards as *nuptiæ carnalis*.

never mentioned except as an obstacle to his rising fortunes; while he himself, who had been Elizabeth's play-fellow in childhood and had been a fellow-prisoner with her in the Tower, was now the chosen favourite of her prosperity.

Of his qualities so little can be said to his advantage, that were not the thing so common one would wonder which of them attracted such a woman as Elizabeth. If the Queen had a man's nature, Dudley combined in himself the worst qualities of both sexes. Without courage, without talent, without virtue, he was the handsome, soft, polished, and attentive minion of the Court. The Queen, who had no one to guide or advise her, selected her own friends, and in the smooth surface of Dudley's flattery she saw reflected an image of her own creation, which, because he devoted himself to her, she chose to believe that he resembled. Her daring, her intellect, her high conscientious devotion to duty, that great and sovereign nature which shone out in her grander moments, were dashed with a taint which she inherited with her mother's blood.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

THE Reformation was again the law of England. The Catholics sat still paralyzed by the rival interests of France and Spain, while the work of Mary and Pole faded away. The nuns and monks were scattered once more, the crucifixes came down from the rood-lofts, the Maries and Johns from their niches, and in Smithfield Market, at the cross-ways and street-corners, blazed into bonfires, as in the old days of Cromwell. Amidst bear-baitings and bull-baitings, May-day games and river pageants, London kept its feast of recovered liberty.

If here and there an ecclesiastic gave trouble, the council were swift with their remedies. Harpsfeld at Canterbury swore impatiently that religion should not be altered. Sir Thomas Finch was sent to disarm his household.¹ The more dangerous of the bishops were in the Tower, with some care for their entertainment

¹ *Privy Council Register*, A° 2 Elizabeth

there;¹ the rest were under careful surveillance, while commissioners went out to take the oaths of allegiance from the clergy, to superintend and enforce the alteration of the services, and to collect the subsidy

In the country all was quiet. The subsidy commissioners were entreated to remember the difficulties in which the late Queen had left the realm, and to set an example themselves in returning the true value of their properties.² The result was on the whole satisfactory; there was no resistance or complaint, and the sum obtained was unusually large.³

¹ 'A letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, with the bodies of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, whom he is withal to keep in sure and several ward, suffering them nevertheless to have each of them one of their men to attend upon them, and their own stuff for their bedding, and other necessary furniture. and to appoint them some convenient lodging meet for persons of their sort, using them otherwise well'—*Privy Council Register*, A° 2 Elizabeth

² Letter to the Commissioners of the Subsidy, A° 2 Elizabeth. *Domestic MSS Rolls House*

³ Sir John Chichester to the Earl of Bedford. *MS Ibid*. 'The entire sum collected for the first instalment of the subsidy of the laity (not including that of the clergy, or the 15th and 10th) was 137,414*l*. Among the counties, the return was highest from Kent, Essex, Norfolk,

Devonshire, and Suffolk, being respectively, 9,015*l*, 7,576*l*, 7,465*l*, 6,863*l*, and 6,828*l*. Yorkshire returned only 5,000*l*, Middlesex, 3,000*l*, Lancashire, 1,000*l*, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland, desolated by Border wars, and charged with the constant expenses of the defence of the frontier, yielded but 24*l* between them. Glamorganshire was apparently a desert—it was not charged at all. Of the towns, London and Southwark paid 18,658*l*. Norwich came next, at a vast distance, with 750*l*. York next, with 461*l*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne gave 5*l*. Bath, 12*l*, Canterbury almost as much as York, while Chichester, Bedford, Buckingham, Poole, Aldborough, Harwich, Yarmouth, and Stafford, like Glamorganshire, produced nothing'—*Subsidium a laicis*, A° 2 Elizabeth: *MS Ibid*

The liturgy was accepted gradually, without enthusiasm yet without opposition, and in places even with pleasure,¹ but it was long before it came into general use. The vast majority of the clergy, unambitious of self-sacrifice, or it may be acting under secret instructions, and with a dispensation for perjury when hard pressed, abjured the Pope, retained their benefices, and laboured in secret for the cause which they seemed to desert. Out of 9400 persons holding cures of souls in various forms, less than 200 refused to the last to comply with the statute, and resigned their livings. But several years passed before they could all be sworn. They evaded the visitation, or protected themselves in the house or behind the authority of some Catholic neighbour too powerful for the commissioners to meddle with. They absented themselves altogether from their parishes, they closed their churches rather than consent to read there what they considered heretical, and Elizabeth, except in the towns where the Protestants were strong, was compelled to bear with them till she sat more firmly on the throne. Of this more will be heard hereafter.

Meantime the bishops were less fortunate: the bishops were on the spot to be bent or broken, and professed themselves ready for martyrdom, of which however there was no present danger. On the 15th of May the whole body of the prelates, fourteen in number, were called before the Queen, and informed that they must swear

¹ 'The service in the churches is well received and done, for the most part of the shire (Devonshire) | There wanted nothing but preachers'—Sir John Chichester to the Earl of Bedford *MS. Ibid.*

allegiance or lose their sees. It was not now as when the oath was first offered, when More and Fisher chose the alternative of the scaffold, and Cuthbert Tunstall, who believed as they believed, dared not act as they had acted. The long debate in Parliament had left no axe for any recusant now to dread. Even the murderous Bonner had no worse fate to fear than some 'room befitting his condition' in the Tower or the Marshalsea, with the garden walls the limit of his exercise—such a fate merely as for 1200 years the religious orders throughout Christendom had voluntarily chosen for themselves, in retiring from a world with which intercourse imperilled their souls.

The words of the oath were read over to them; and the Archbishop of York was first asked if he would swear. Instead of replying he addressed Elizabeth with a haughty admonition to remember her duty, to follow in the steps of her blessed sister who had brought back the country to the Holy See, and to dread the curse which would follow if she dared to be disobedient.

'I will answer you,' Elizabeth replied, 'in the words of Joshua. As Joshua said of himself and his—I and my realm will serve the Lord. My sister could not bind the realm, nor bind those who should come after her to submit to a usurped authority. I take those who maintain here the Bishop of Rome and his ambitious pretences to be enemies to God and to me.'¹

¹ STYKE, *Annals*, vol. 1 pp. 207, 208

The Archbishop and the rest were allowed time to consider their final answer. Meanwhile there were found in Heath's house a number of letters and copies of letters which had passed between himself, several of the other bishops, Reginald Pole, and Mary, in Edward's time, containing evident proofs of treason. The Bishop of Ely on the other hand, fresh from Cambray, told Bacon that if the Queen listened to such advisers as him and Cecil she would bring the realm to destruction. The Bishop of Ely was suspected of being a party to the designs of the French, and his faint assurances of innocence scarcely satisfied the friends of Philip¹. The situation became more dangerously complicated when the judges also refused the oath—which the Court did not dare to resent;² and it was even reported that Bacon had offered to resign the custody of the Great Seal, from the animosity with which the leading lawyers regarded him.³

Elizabeth attempted to temporize. Heath was told that he might be spared the oath and retain the revenues of the archbishopric if he would name a vicar-general, and the same or a similar offer was made to the rest. Kitchin of Llandaff however, 'the shame of his

¹ 'Soy certificado que la Reyna tenia entendido que el Rey de Francia Henrico trataba de quitarla este Reyno. Yo pensaba que el obispo de Ely tuviese parte en esto por ciertos indicios que tuve, pero el dice que no sabe nada cierto'—De Quadra to Philip II, June, 1559. *MS. Smancoas*

² 'Los jueces que llaman de Inglaterra los quales han venido aqui á los terminos, no han querido jurar, y se han ido á sus casas sin que los hayan osado apretar en ello'—*Ibid*

³ De Quadra to Philip II, June, 1559. *MS. Smancoas*

See,' was the single member of the bench with whom either entreaty or menace could prevail. Kitchin yielded in spite of the efforts of the Catholics to keep him firm.¹ Tunstall might have yielded as he yielded before had the question been merely of the supremacy; but he informed Cecil that he could not 'agree to be a sacramentary, or receive or allow any doctrine in his diocese other than Catholic.'²

Supported as they avowedly were by the King of Spain, scarcely affecting to conceal that they looked to him to reinstate them if they were deprived, encouraged by Philip's representative to expect an immediate revolution under his master's auspices, the bishops stood their ground fiercely and doggedly, and Elizabeth for a moment hesitated. De Feria was gone, and in his place had come a bold subtle and dexterous Spanish ecclesiastic, Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila—sent to England with a special commission to watch over the interests of the Church of Rome, to keep the Catholics true to Philip and themselves, to prevent them from rebelling prematurely, and to hold them in hand ready to rise at the fitting moment, should other means fail of bringing Elizabeth to reason. Had there been any other candidate for the throne than Mary Stuart his task and Philip's task would have been easy but the word had gone out that Mary Stuart was not to be thought of;

¹ 'El obispo de Llandaff que es un viejo codicioso y poco letrado anda vacilando. Yo le envié á

puede, pero no ha sido bastante esto por sostenerle'—*Ibid*

visitar y á consolar lo mejor que

² Tunstall to Cecil, *Domestic MSS*, *Elizabeth*, *Rolls House*

and after a short uncertainty Elizabeth felt herself safe in the equilibrium of the Catholic powers. Their rivalries, if they could not protect her from invasion, saved her from the danger of mutiny among her own subjects, and she determined to dare all consequences. Among the refugees a sufficient number survived of those who under Edward had been called bishops, to maintain a semblance of the apostolic succession: and the Marian prelates one by one were brought up again for question, deprived of their sees and committed to the Tower or to private custody, there to wait till Philip either by force or by marriage could recover the erring Queen to the Catholic sheepfold.

The chief hope of the King of Spain was in the Austrian prince. To provide against contingencies however he was manœuvring to get into his hand a second card if the first failed him, in the person of Lady Catherine Grey, who has been seen already in correspondence with De Feria. Encouraged it seems by De Feria's fair words to her, and exasperated at the coldness with which she was treated at Court, Lady Catherine had broken out at last into arrogant and unseemly words against Elizabeth. She had been banished from the royal presence, and was ready to lend herself to any desperate scheme. Philip offered to reward any one who would bring her away 'with three times as much as he or she should lose in England,' and the Countess of Feria, Lady Montague, Lady John Grey, Lady Hungerford, and even Lord Arundel himself, were thought of as likely to lend their assistance—so utterly precarious appeared

Elizabeth's tenure of the throne. Finally a pretended Catholic refugee, in reality a spy of Cecil's, was selected as the fittest person. He was sent for by Alva, intrusted with the secret, and directed to manage the flight in concert with the Spanish ambassador.¹ The next post of course put Cecil on his guard, and Lady Catherine was watched too closely for the future to permit her evasion. But the spy added in a postscript to his letter the significant warning—'Be you most assured that there be at this day many eyes over England; and as her Grace doth match herself in marriage, so shall she see things fall out which yet are hidden; and, to make a lewd comparison, I may liken England to a bone thrown between two dogs; for many times I do hear that I will not speak of, and suffer that my heart will not bear.'²

The state of parties in England, the Court intrigues, the plans and schemes of the Catholics, the political aspect of the situation, when the Acts of Parliament were passed and the Queen had finally committed herself to the Reformation, will be seen most clearly in the correspondence between the Spanish ambassador in London, Philip the Second, De Ferna, the Duke of Alva, and the Bishop of Arras.

DE QUADRA TO THE DUKE OF ALVA 7

London, May 10, 1559

'Parliament has risen, and the Queen has confirmed

¹ ——— to Sir Wilham Cecil *Flanders MSS*, 1559, endorsed in Cecil's hand, from Antwerp. *Elizabeth, Rolls House*

² *Ibid*

the Acts. It is uncertain whether she will eventually be Head of the Church; at present she calls herself Governor—declining the higher title, that she may give it to her husband when she marries. The difference is only in the name. The Holy Sacrament was taken away yesterday from the royal chapel, and mass was said in English. The bishops who will not swear will lose their sees, and when they have been all deprived the Queen will go on progress and institute their successors. Clergy refusing the oath are to lose their benefices. Clergy and laity alike who speak against the Queen's doctrines, for the first offence forfeit their properties—for the second their lives¹. Infinite numbers would fly the realm were they permitted, and I am not sure that the Queen gains much by keeping them. Lord Sussex spoke at length before the Lords on the need of enforcing the statute. In the Commons House the Queen was compared to Moses—sent by God to deliver his people from bondage. Neither the heretics of our time nor the persecutors of old ever ventured on so complete a piece of devilry, never I think was so monstrous an iniquity committed. To force a man to do a thing

¹ The Bishop exaggerates and mistakes. To refuse the oath involved merely the loss of offices, of the tenure of which the oath of allegiance was and remains a condition. 'To maintain by writing, printing, teaching, or preaching, that any foreign power, prelate, or person had authority or jurisdiction in the Queen's dominions, was punishable for the first offence by the forfeiture of personal property, and in the case of the clergy, by the forfeiture of their benefices. A second offence incurred *Perpetuam*. It was not till a man had been twice convicted, and offended again, that he was to be held to have committed treason, or deserved death — Elizabeth, cap. 1.

against his will may be unjust, but there may be some reason in it: but to force a man to understand a thing in the sense in which the sovereign understands it, is too absurd to be called either just or unjust'¹

THE BISHOP OF ARRAS TO PHILIP II

Brussels, May 20

'The most pressing danger at present is that the Queen of England's obstinate blindness may provoke an insurrection there, of which the French will take advantage to invade.

'Your Majesty knows better than I that if this happens it will be quite fatal to us. Should the Catholics rise, and should your Majesty refuse to help them, they will unquestionably turn to the French, and the French I think would have tried a descent on the Isle of Wight before this, had you not given them to understand so clearly that you would not permit it'²

DE QUADRA TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

London, May 29

'The Queen says she has vowed never to marry a man that she has not seen—that she will not trust

¹ Yet De Quadra would have had no objection to sit as an inquisitor, and burn a man who would not believe what the *Church* told him to believe. Considering who the writer was, the words are so remarkable, that it is worth while to give them in the original — 'Forçar á un hombre, que quiera o no quiera, hacer una cosa tiene ya forma aunque injusta. Pero forçar le á que entienda ó no entienda una cosa como la entiende el Rey es cosa de disparate, y no tiene forma ninguna justa ni injusta.'—*MS Simancas*

² GRANVELLE *Correspondence*, vol. v

painters—with more of the same sort. Just now they affect to be especially polite to me. They tell me that had it not been for the relationship, the King would have been the very man for them.’

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II

London, May 30

‘The Constable Montmorency, with a number of French noblemen, have come over to ratify the treaty. On Corpus Christi day they were all at the royal chapel. The Queen placed herself close to the altar and made Montmorency and his companions sit by her side—much to the scandal of the Catholics to see them in such a place.

‘Some English prayers and psalms and I know not what, were read; after which were to have followed some chapters; but as the chaplains began one chapter after another the Queen cried out—‘Not that!’ I know that already, read something else.’ Afterwards I had a conversation with Cecil and the others about the Austrian marriage. I gathered from what Cecil said—though he did not actually use the words—that the Queen suspected that there was some plan in connection with it to force her back into the Church. He assured me however that he would much have liked her to marry your Majesty. He distrusted the Pope’s dispensing powers.

‘I answered as temperately as I could. I said that no doubt the changes which they had introduced appeared to your Majesty violent and ill-timed. I trusted

however that ere long God would give us either a general council or a good Pope who would correct abuses, and then all would go well. I could not believe that he would allow so noble and Christian a realm as England to break away from Christendom and run the risk of perdition.

‘There is a Swedish ambassador here who says that the Queen ought to marry his master because he was her suitor in her misfortunes. The King of Sweden, he says, will meddle with no man’s religion; as far as he is concerned every man may believe what he pleases. I am not so much appalled at the expression of such monstrous views as at the fact that a man could be found to hold them.’¹

‘The council tell me they will not have the Archduke Ferdinand. They hear he is a bigot and a persecutor. They think best of Charles, only Cecil says he is not wise, and that he has as big a head as the Earl of Bedford.

‘The Emperor’s ambassador has had an interview. The Queen told him her fool had said that he was one of the Archdukes in disguise, who had come over to see her. She spoke warmly of the Emperor, calling him a good and upright man; and Maximilian,² she said, was a friend of the true religion. She ridiculed Ferdinand, she was told, she said, that he was a fine Catholic, and knew how to tell his beads and pray for the souls in

¹ Eric of Sweden was not a creditable representative of these principles. He was the greatest ruffian among the crowned heads of Europe.

² King of the Romans, the Emperor’s eldest son.

purgatory Of 'Charles she seemed to know nothing ; but she declared she would never have a husband who would sit all day by the fireside When she married it should be a man who could ride, and hunt, and fight

'The council are in an agony to have her married to some one, and Cecil and his immediate friends wish her to choose at home , the rest are frightened at the attitude of the Catholics—they apprehend a revolt, and prefer Charles that is, if they can be assured that he will conform to the Queen's views If a Catholic prince come here, the first mass which he attends will be the signal for a rising

'The behaviour of the Catholics themselves is beyond praise It can hardly be but that she will flinch before their constancy and numbers If she does not join them she will be forced to leave them in peace unless she means to be destroyed She will find it a hard task, for she must restore what she has robbed them of, but whoever marries her will find incomparably more difficulty in going on with heresy than in turning back to the truth '

The close of the letter anticipates the order of the story, but it must retain its place

'Scotland is in insurrection, and the flame will soon spread here The Protestants and Catholics hate each other more than ever, and the latter, in their exasperation with the Queen, say openly that she is not their lawful sovereign

'The King of France, it is said, will send an army to Scotland, and the worst consequences are apprehended The leader of the insurrection is a heretic nobleman,

who it is thought will be the person after all that the Queen will marry.¹ They are to expel the French between them, and establish heresy all over the island. Such is the programme, which I regard myself as a chimera. But the spirit of the woman is such that I can believe anything of her. She is possessed by the Devil, who is dragging her to his own place.'

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO DE QUADRA

Brussels, June 25²

June 'I comfort myself with the certainty that
the Queen and her council will soon have
their deserts. If God will but strike in His own cause,
the Devil may fly away with me, I care for nothing
else.'

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II

London, July —³

July. 'I am compelled to tell your Majesty that
the leading Catholics are amazed to see the
Queen permitted to go forward in this course of reck-
lessness, careless of the interests either of England
or of adjoining realms. In the six months that
she has been on the throne she has brought heresy to
life again, and fed it up into strength and spirit, when
it was all but dead. I am well aware that your
Majesty does not forget these things, but it is neces-
sary that you should know what is said here. First

¹ De Quadra makes a confusion between the Duke of Chatellherault and his son, the Earl of Arrian, who had not yet returned to Scotland

² *MS Simanca*

³ *Ibid*

they looked to your Majesty to help them, then they looked to France, and if France does nothing they say it will be your Majesty's fault. Parties however are fast shaping themselves. There will soon be neither French, nor Spanish, nor Burgundian, but only Catholic and heretic. In spite of all, it is your Majesty to whom the good look with hope and the evil with terror.

'The Irish chiefs have communicated with me. They request your Majesty to receive them as your subjects. You have but to say the word and the country is yours.

'As for this woman, you must expect nothing from her. She is possessed with a false opinion of her own resources, from which she will never awake till she is ruined. Heresy has been ingrained into her from her cradle, and she so hates the truth that she thinks of nothing but how to destroy it. If your Majesty were to save her life a second time she would be no more faithful to you than she is now. If she can spread the poison, and set your Majesty's Low Countries on fire, she will do it without remorse.'

PHILIP II TO DE QUADRA

Brussels, July 9¹

'I have seen what you have written. It concerns me deeply to hear of the increasing injuries done to religion and of the risk to which the Queen is exposing both herself and her realm.

'Seeing that neither the good offices which she dare not deny that she has received from me, nor my demon-

¹ *MS Simancas*

strations of brotherly affection, nor the warnings of the Count de Feria, have availed anything, I have resolved to address her in another tone. Don John de Ayala, who is going over for the Countess of Feria, is instructed to speak roundly to her. On his arrival you shall accompany him to her presence. You shall say to her that she knows well my feelings towards her, and that my regard obliges me to warn her that she is running a perilous course, that she has put her throne in danger by the changes which she has introduced, and that I require her to look better to her ways.

You shall tell her that by what she is doing she is disturbing my affairs as well as her own, and that if she does not alter her proceedings, I shall have to consider what it will be necessary for me to do. I cannot suffer the peace of these estates to be endangered by her caprices, as I see plainly that it now will be

‘Say this to her from me.’

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II

London, July —¹

‘Thomas Randolph has come in haste from France to say that the Dauphin, after having publicly assumed the royal arms of England, is about to be proclaimed King of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

‘The Queen, when she heard it, said that she would take a husband who should make the King of France’s head ache, and that he little knew what a buffet she could give him. The Earl of Arran is in England and

¹ *MS. Simancas*

near London, Cecil has gone secretly from Greenwich to see him, and we shall soon hear more. She would not have received him here with the certainty that she was giving mortal offence to the French if it were not a settled thing that the Earl was to be more than a guest. I have my spies about the Queen's person, I know every word that she says, I know the exact sum of money which Cecil took with him. The discontent grows and spreads. The northern counties refuse the new Prayer-book. Rebellion is not far off.

A fortnight later the Earl of Arran was to meet the Queen in the garden at Hampton Court, and the interview was to decide whether in grasping at the English crown Mary Stuart had not lost her own. To explain the meaning of this sudden introduction of the name of Lord Arran, it is necessary to go back over the ground, and tell what in the last few years had been done in Scotland.

The causes which had merged into one the seven Saxon kingdoms, which had led gradually to the annexation of Wales and the absorption of the Palatinates, had been working towards a similar effect on either side of the northern border. The wisest statesmen, both in England and Scotland, deplored the miseries which, till they ceased to be divided, the two countries would continue to inflict on each other, and the Scots, though uncertain, intractable, and passionate, jealous of their national liberties, had again and again allowed the question to approach the edge of solution. James the Fifth

was to have married the Princess Mary, Prince Edward was to have married Mary Stuart. Both schemes had fallen through at the last moment; yet except for the disastrous victory of Pinkie Cleugh, which opened the wounds of centuries and united Catholic and Protestant, Lowlander and Highlander, in defence of their common freedom, the friends of England would have continued to increase, the French alliance would have grown weaker, and the daughter of James the Fifth at all events would have remained at home and grown to womanhood with a Scotch heart like her father.

But of all powers of evil in high places there is none equal for the mischief which it can produce to incapacity. Somerset, who disgraced the Reformation in England, flung Scotland back into the arms of France, Mary Stuart was brought up amidst the political iniquities of the Court of Catherine de Medici; Mary of Guise governed as Regent in the interests and under the direction of her brother, and the Catholic faction which had all but perished with Beaton recovered life and vigour.

Not indeed that the persecution of the Protestants was again ventured on to a severe extremity. The Government was too weak, the temper of the public too dangerous, and the fate of the Cardinal of St Andrew's a too recent warning. The French Court too, so long as the war lasted with Spain, found its interest in toleration; seeking its allies among the Lutheran princes; courting Edward the Sixth while Edward lived; and during the Marian cruelties holding out its hand to Protestants conspirators. The Regent ventured on an

occasional edict, but was encountered by armed deputations with steel bonnets and swords, and Scotland drifted on as it were in uncertain neutrality till the Queen should come of age and be married to the Dauphin.

Of special instruction in the reformed doctrines there was but little. Knox remained in England till Edward's death, and retired with the exiles to the Continent, the other preachers, suspected as they were of English sympathies, were obliged to hide themselves till the recollection of Pinkie Cleugh had cooled.

But though ill-informed in the new creed, the young generation grew to manhood in an inability to believe the old. The Earl of Arran, next heir after his father to the crown should the Stuart lineage fail, the young Lord of Lorn afterwards Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stuart the Queen's brother, Glencarn, Maitland of Lethington, Henry Balnavis, and Kirkaldy of Grange who had assisted at the killing of the Cardinal—young men all of them between nineteen and nine-and-twenty, were passing into the new era unshackled with the memories of superstition, and for the most part with a noble desire for some faith in which they could live as honest men. As time passed on the humours of the people quieted down, and in the autumn of 1555 Scotland was again open to John Knox. The Marian persecutions had just commenced south of the Border, antagonism to England assumed the unusual form of toleration, and Knox, who had fled for his life from London, was able to present himself in Edinburgh.

His life in exile had been still disturbed and dangerous. The refugees had formed a community at Frankfort, where Knox's thoroughgoing honesty frightened the Anglo-Catholics. To gain favour with the Emperor, and perhaps with their own Queen, the respectable English 'divines,' Jewel, who had apostatized, Coxe, Sandys, and others, took advantage of some blunt expressions about Mary and Philip, and denounced Knox before the Frankfort magistrates. To save his life he escaped to Calvin at Geneva, and thence a few months later returned to his own country.

The Congregation in his absence had fallen under worldly temptations. To avoid open quarrels they had bowed in the house of Rimmon, and humouring the unavowed toleration of the Regent they had kept their opinions to themselves, and complied outwardly like the English with the Catholic forms.

But in England the Reformation was more than half-political. The hatred of priests and popes was a more predominant principle than speciality of doctrine. The movement had been under the guidance of the Government, and the more violent factions had, except at intervals, been under control. What kings and Parliament had done in England, in Scotland had to be done by the people, and was accompanied therefore with the passionate features of a revolt against authority. In England the lives of the higher Catholic clergy had been outwardly decorous, in Scotland the bishops and archbishops set an example of the most enormous profligacy. Cardinal Beaton passed the night which preceded his

murder with his mistress Archbishop Hamilton succeeded to Beaton's vices with his power he lived in notorious adultery, and at successive sessions of the Scottish Parliament obtained letters of legitimization for his children The mass was no longer a mode of Christianity which serious persons could defend, but a Paphian idolatry, identified with the coarsest forms of licentiousness To plain eyes unjaundiced by theology it resembled too nearly the abomination of the Amorites or the accursed rites of Thammuz ; and the northern reformers saw in their first study of the Old Testament the anti-type of their own history They construed literally the order to keep no terms with idol worship, and in toleration or conformity they found the rock on which the chosen people had made shipwreck

Penetrated to the heart with this conviction, John Knox became thus the representative of all that was best in Scotland He was no narrow fanatic who in a world in which God's grace was equally visible in a thousand creeds, could see truth and goodness nowhere but in his own formula He was a large, noble, generous man, with a shrewd perception of actual fact, who found himself face to face with a system of hideous iniquity. He believed himself a prophet, with a direct commission from heaven to overthrow it, and his return to Scotland became the signal therefore for the renewal of the struggle He preached for some months in Edinburgh, Lothian, and Angus, where his steady will and distinct purpose carried all before them Lord James Stuart, Aigyle, and Glencarn became the

most earnest of his followers; and even the brilliant William Martland, after a long battle with him on the lawfulness of outward compliance with things established, yielded at last, saying that 'such shifts would serve nothing before God, when they stood in so small stead before men.'

The Congregation therefore withdrew from the Church. Knox himself administered the communion in the Genevan fashion, and the bishops again prepared to interfere

Knox was summoned to appear before them in Edinburgh, and replied with his once famous letter to the Regent Moderate, if we consider his humour, generous, for, with as much sincerity as St Paul, he said he would himself gladly be accursed from Christ if he could convince her, he implored the Queen-mother—not to abolish idolatry—that, he admitted, she could not do—but to refuse to assist the bishops in their intended persecution, with the support of the secular arm¹

Appeals to conscience are not always comprehensible to the intellect To the polished and acute Mary of Guise the words of Knox were but as the raving of the wind Cultivated, as the times went, in worldly knowledge, steeped from her childhood in political intrigue, and bold as she was dexterous, the Frenchwoman regarded religious innovators with a contemptuous impatience, and tossing the letter when she had read it to

¹ CALDERWOOD, vol 1 p 308, &c

the Bishop of Glasgow, said, 'Please you, my lord, to read a Pasquil?'

'If,' wrote Knox again to her when he heard of it—'if ye do no more esteem the admonition of God's servant than cardinals do the scoffing of Pasquils, then He shall shortly send you messengers with whom ye shall not be able to jest in that manner'¹

But the times were not ripe for a rising. Tyranny in its most horrid form was dominant in England, and the Regent had France at her back. Lord Aigyle promised to protect Knox if he would stay in Scotland, but an entreaty from the refugees at Geneva came opportunely to give him an excuse for retiring. He was summoned again, and outlawed when he did not appear. The bishops burnt him in effigy at Edinburgh, and he himself withdrew once more to Calvin, with a promise to return with better days.

Four years passed. The Catholics used their triumph moderately. The Archbishop of St Andrew's in 1558 burnt Walter Milne, an old man of eighty, but a severe persecution was still inconvenient for the policy of the French. The Queen Regent gave a general promise of toleration, and it was not till the peace of Cambray and the rejection of his advances by Elizabeth, that Henry the Second abandoned himself finally to an ultra-montane policy. Then it was that he determined to crush his own Huguenots with fire and sword; uniting ambition with orthodoxy, to proclaim his daughter-in-

¹ CALDERWOOD, vol. 1, p. 317

law Queen of England, and with the Pope's sanction as the leader of a crusade annex Great Britain and Ireland to the Crown of France.

That this, or something like this, was a design really entertained by the Court of Paris, was no mere creation of Elizabeth's or Cecil's fears—no excuse invented to justify their policy. The Spanish and Flemish statesmen were as uneasy as the English. Francis and Mary openly assumed the titles of King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They engraved the arms on their seals and plate, they adopted the style in their official documents. The army of Italy was recalled on the peace, but it was not disbanded. Troops were assembled in Normandy, Calais and Havre were crowded with transports, while the French forts on the north bank of the Tweed were not dismantled, as the treaty required. Fresh companies of French troops were sent over to the Regent. Even Montmorency, the most unlikely of all the advisers of Henry the Second to flatter the ambition of the Guises, declared 'for the Queen Dolphin's title'¹

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil. FORBES, vol. 1 p. 136. Among the *Domestic MSS.* at the Rolls House, there is 'a brief note,' dated August, 1559, in Cecil's hand, 'to prove the French evil meaning towards England.'

'Their pretence for their false title appeareth—'

1 'By their practises with the Burgundians at Cambray'

2 'By their practises at Rome'

for Bulls, by their usurpation of the arms of England in jousts, plate, hangings, and seals

3 'By the special speech of the Scotch Queen; by the consultation for the style of the French King, by the usurpation of the style of England and Ireland, sent in a great seal to Scotland'

4 'By their practises with Ireland. George Paris passed to the'

With the Scotch nobles it was thought that the pride of giving a sovereign to their old rival would be motive sufficient to insure their co-operation. The only interest which would sway them in the other direction was Protestantism. The first step therefore towards the conquest of England was to destroy once for all the rising 'Congregation,' and for this purpose, so soon as the peace of Cambray had been finally concluded, France prepared to place an adequate force at the disposal of the Regent.

The Protestants, encouraged by the revolution in England, and perhaps at the private instigation of Cecil, had petitioned the Queen for a reformation. On the occasion of the burning of Walter Milne they protested against those 'cruel oppressors and bloodthirsty tyrants the bishops,' and with a meaning menace had declared that if there was a rebellion in the country for religion, the fault should not be imputed to them. It is unnecessary to suppose, with Knox, that because the Regent refused to listen to demands couched in such language, she must have been possessed with the devil. She answered haughtily that if this was the style in which she was to be addressed 'she would drive the

old Queen of Scotland with writings
from the Lords of Ireland

'Three thousand Frenchmen in
Scotland

5 'Their preparations by sea
and land. The Marquis d'Elbœuf
The Duc d'Aumale

'In Alemanna, the Rhinegrave
The Duke of Saxe in Denmark

'No other quarrel but England
At peace, and that by marriage,
with the king Catholic

'The old hatred of the House of
Guise. Then authority at this pre-
sent. Their private respects to ad-
vance their Queen's title to Scotland
and England'

ministers from Scotland, though they preached as truly as ever did St Paul ' The French reinforcements might be expected any day ; the Regent grew more peremptory, the Protestants more uneasy An interview of the reforming lords with her in May ended only in an interchange of menaces Fortunately for them the question was not one of doctrine merely the gaunt and hungry nobles of Scotland, careless most of them of God or devil, were eyeing the sleek and well-fed clergy like a pack of famished wolves

The tinder was dry and a spark sufficed to kindle it. The citizens of Perth opened the drama by declaring for 'the Gospel' They took possession of the churches, and read the service from Edward the Sixth's Prayer-book¹ Lord Ruthven as Provost was required to stop the 'disorder,' and oblige the people to attend mass Ruthven replied that he could not cause them to 'act against their consciences' The example of Perth was followed at Montrose and Dundee, and the Protestant preachers were summoned to appear before the Regent

at Stirling on the 10th of May, and answer
 May for their conduct They prepared to go, but

¹ At a meeting of the Congregation on the 3rd of December, 1557, it was agreed that 'the Book of Common Prayer' should be read weekly on Sundays and festival days Presbyterian writers have endeavoured to prove that it was not Edward's Prayer-book, but the Genevan, which was here intended The question is set at rest by a letter of William Knkaldy to Sir Henry Percy, written on the 1st of July, 1559—'As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images, and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them In place thereof, the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches'—*Scotch MSS Rolls House*

to go accompanied by five or six thousand armed men, and thus attended the Regent refused to receive them¹

At this crisis, and while they were waiting for the next step, John Knox reappeared. The 'better times' had come

Immediately on the news of Elizabeth's accession, he had attempted to return to England; but unfortunately he had employed his leisure at Geneva in writing a book which Elizabeth could not forgive. The Catholic Queen Regent in Scotland, the Catholic Queen Mary in England, had chafed his imagination into a belief that a female sovereign was a monster, forbidden by the laws of God. He had already blown 'the first blast of his trumpet,' as a summons to rebellion against the unlawful authority of a woman, when Mary Tudor's death too late brought repentance and a changed opinion. Neither repentance nor change could earn his pardon from Elizabeth. The government of women had not been really odious to him, but only the government of this and that particular woman, and when times were altered he could remember Judith and Deborah. But he had allowed his argument to lead him to conclusions which he could not wholly disavow; and Elizabeth would not accept a half apology, in which she was permitted to reign as an exception to a rule. He had shot

¹ Protestant writers say that the Regent desired them not to appear, and then outlawed them for disobedience. This is scarcely the truth. Sir James Crofts, writing from Berwick to Cecil, says—'The Regent commanded the preachers to appear before her at Stirling, and they being accompanied with a train of five or six thousand persons, the Regent dismissed the appearance, putting the preachers to the horr'

an arrow into a mark which he would most have desired to miss, and although she would admit his letters, respect his character, and accept his services, he could not be allowed to set foot in her dominions. In April he wrote an unavailing protest from Dieppe to Cecil, and on the 2nd of May he landed in Scotland. The ship in which he crossed carried a seal to the Regent engraved with the arms of England, and carried with it also in himself the person who, above all others, baffled the conspiracy and saved Elizabeth and the Reformation.

Still under sentence of outlawry, he spent two nights at Edinburgh, and then, supposing that the preachers would 'keep the day' at Stirling, he hastened on to Perth, intending himself also to be present, by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify God's holy name, and desiring the prayers of his friends 'that he might not shrink now when the battle approached'¹

He arrived to find the summons withdrawn, and the 'Congregation' waiting for the Regent to make the next move. Within a day or two the Laird of Dun brought word that the preachers were outlawed, and that the Master of Maxwell had been arrested and imprisoned for threatening to take their part.

On Thursday the 11th of May there had
May 11 been service in the church, and Knox¹ had preached a sermon passionate as the time invited. The congregation was still undispersed, when a priest, encouraged perhaps by the proclamation, came in, went up

¹ Knox to Mrs Anne Locke CALDERWOOD, vol 1 p 440

to the altar, opened the tabernacle, and prepared to say mass. A boy who was present said something insolent; the priest struck him, and the boy snatching up a stone, flung it at the crucifix, which fell broken to the ground. The common instinct shot through the gathered crowd; altar, ornaments, images, in a few moments lay in ruins on the chancel floor. The saints were flung from their niches, the storied windows dashed in atoms. Then the cry rose, 'To the Grey Friars!' and in an hour or two, the poor monks, started from their noonday dinner, were adrift upon the world, and their homes going up in smoke and flame into the sky.

'It was the work of rascals,' says Knox, 'who cared nothing for religion,' and what Knox did not defend, the Regent may be pardoned for having resolved to punish. With the Grey Friars had perished the Charterhouse, sacred as the burial-place of the first of the Stuart kings. The French troops were sent for from Leith, and Argyle, Chatelherault, and Lord James Stuart were called upon to save their country from anarchy.

The Lords were willing to suppress a riot; they were not willing that the riot should be made an excuse to confirm the sentence against the preachers, and they suggested a conference, like that at Westminster, where the reformers and the bishops might discuss their differences. But the Regent, with the instructions which she had received from France, was in no humour for conferences, and was resolute to use the opportunity which the riot had given her.

- The gauntlet was thrown down. The Congregation, finding that there was no escape for them, met defiance with defiance. They wrote to the Regent to say that they would fight for Christ and the Gospel sword in hand. D'Oysel the French ambassador was supposed to be doubtful in religion. They implored him to prevent the outbreak of a quarrel which, if once opened, would never be healed; while to 'the bishops—the pestilent prelates'—'the generation of antichrist,' they insisted and declared, that if they proceeded in their cruelty they should be treated as open enemies to God and mankind, the Lords of the Congregation would begin the same war with them which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites.'

The word went out speeding like the fiery cross, for the friends of the Gospel to rally to Perth. In vain Lyon Herald at Glasgow bade the people 'sit still' While the crowd was hesitating, young Glencarn exclaimed, 'Others may do as they will, I will go to my brethren at St Johnstone, though I go alone with a pike on my shoulder.' Boyd and Ochiltree sprang to the side of Glencarn, and presently all Glasgow, Kyle, and Cunningham, were up in arms. Fife followed, and Angus and Dundee: and over all hills and all bypaths, north, south, east, and west, the steel bonnets came streaming in to the rescue of the preachers.

The French force was still small; the promised reinforcements had not yet arrived; and both the Regent and d'Oysel were uneasy at the scattering of Huguenots among the troops which at present were at their disposal.

On the 24th of May she sent Argyle and Lord James, who still remained with her, to arrange some sort of terms. Knox bade them return and tell her she was fighting against God, if she wished for peace she must give up persecution once and for ever, and repent of her sins.

Argyle carried back the message, and with it an account of the strength of the Congregation. For himself, he said, he would support the Queen if she would make certain concessions; but when he named them, they were scarcely short of what Knox would have himself demanded—indemnity for the past and toleration for the future—toleration of what would itself tolerate no rival.

The Queen, fearless and resolute, at once advanced with all the force she could collect. Ten miles from Perth a deputation met her from the Protestants. She promised to forgive the riot, to allow liberty of conscience—every Scot to profess what creed he pleased. The citizens stipulated that they should not be required to receive a French garrison—and she consented to this also. Knox still distrusted her, but Argyle and Lord James became securities for her good faith, and signed a bond with the Western leaders to join them if she proved treacherous.

The terms were equitable, had there been on either side a full acceptance of them. The Regent, however, was only protracting the time till the troops in Normandy could be sent over, and the Protestants understood by toleration the right to prohibit Catholics from

saying mass. The bands of the West dispersed, and the Regent entered Perth with d'Oysel, Chatelherault, Athol, and the Archbishop of St Andrew's.

May 29 A scuffle began—no one knew how—as they passed the gates, shots were fired, and a child was killed. Still it seems there was no immediate intention on the Regent's part of breaking the compact. The French were taken by surprise by the fierceness of the demonstration—they had not calculated on the combination of influences which would tell against them. The Church was rich, and the Scotch lords, like the Irish—even the good Catholics among them—were anxious for plunder. D'Oysel said he could not tell friend from foe, Lord Huntly, the best Catholic in Scotland, deserted him, and Chatelherault drifted with the stream. It is incredible that in such a position the Regent would have courted extremities could she avoid them; but circumstances were too strong for her. She had mass said in the church at Perth the Sunday after she entered it, it led to a fresh commotion, and when she returned to Stirling she left four hundred Scots there to keep order. There was an instant cry that she had broken faith. Argyle, Ruthven, Lord James Stuart, and Menteith, gathered their trains together and rode away with Knox to St Andrew's, where they again sent out orders for the gathering of the Congregation. The Regent followed, uncertain what to do, as far as Falkland; and Archbishop Hamilton, supposing the Protestants to be as yet in small numbers, dashed on to St Andrew's with two hundred men-at-arms—swearing that if Knox preached



in his church 'a dozen bullets should light upon his nose,'¹ and that he would bring him dead or alive to the Queen

But St Andrew's was too strongly held for the Archbishop to venture into it. He had to fly for his own life—leaving his pulpit to its fate, and Knox, who ten years before, hanging tired over his oar in the French galley, saw the white steeples of St Andrew's rising out of the sea in the mist of the summer morning—and forlorn and helpless as he then seemed—prophesied that in that spot he should again preach to the glory of God—kept his word amidst the army of the Calvinists. As a fierce close to the wild service, the roods and vestments were heaped into a pile and burnt

To sit still was now to abandon all a lost battle could scarcely be worse than inaction, June 13
and on the 13th of June the Regent pushed forward from Falkland to Cowper Muir, with d'Oysel and Chatelherault. But 'the Duke's men were of the same opinion with the preachers'² The Protestants had gathered so thick 'that men seemed rained from the clouds' They had cannon with them, as well as the advantage of numbers, and d'Oysel, after a survey of their position, felt that to risk a fight would be mere waste of valuable life. He complained that 'he knew not whom to trust,' 'those who were with him in the morning were his enemies in the afternoon'³ The Regent was induced

¹ Knox to Mrs Anne Locke CALDERWOOD, vol 1 p 464

² Sir James Crofts to Sir H Percy, June 14 *Scotch MSS Roth's House*

³ D'Oysel to Noailles THEULT, vol 1

—perhaps compelled—to consent to an ‘armistice’; and under cover of a suspension of arms for eight days, the French withdrew to Edinburgh, and thence to Dunbar, where for a time their condition was unpromising. The army chest was empty; the Queen had spent her last shilling; the wages were unpaid; and the men, unable to buy provisions, were driven to plunder to save themselves from starvation. The Huguenots mutinied and came in bodies of two and three hundred at a time, demanding food or dismissal. Unless he was immediately relieved, d’Oysel feared that he would have to return with them to France¹

Thus the Congregation were left for the moment absolute; and they made haste with their opportunity. Perth was relieved of its garrison; Scone was sacked and burnt, Stirling threw open its gates; and the abbey there, even to the very gardens, were destroyed in the presence and by the order of Argyle and Lord James.² The mass was everywhere put down. By the end of June the lords were in Edinburgh; and the entire fabric of the Catholic Church over the whole Lowlands had fallen.

‘The manner of proceeding is this,’ wrote Kirkaldy to Sir Henry Percy, ‘they pull down all manner of friars’ houses, and some abbeys which willingly receive not the Reformation; as to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them; in place

¹ The Queen Regent to the King of France, July 1. TEULET, vol. 1

² Ibid

thereof, the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the kirk, but presently they will take orders through all the parts where they dwell that all the fruits of the abbeyes and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as other orders be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desire, which is that a general Reformation be made throughout the realm—conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen sent away. If her Grace will so do, they will obey and serve her, and annex the whole revenue of the abbeyes to the Crown. If her Grace will not be content, they will hear of no agreement.¹

The supposition that the Regent would give up the struggle might be believed by July those who considered only what was passing under the eye. To Knox, however, who knew the designs of France on England, and to every one else who was not blinded by the passion of the moment, it was plain that no such fortune could be looked for. Unencumbered with war elsewhere, and with a large army set free from work, Henry the Second was not the man to sit still while his daughter's kingdom was overrun with revolution, even had he no ulterior object. Whatever might be their immediate triumph, the clear-sighted among the Protestants knew that they would have to

¹ Kirkaldy to Sir H. Percy, July 1. *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

reckon sooner or later with the whole power of France. In the flush of success therefore they turned to England, confident that for her own sake Elizabeth could not allow them to be conquered. and they caught at the occasion as an opportunity for the union of the realms in the bond of a common creed, upon terms which would at once give them the safety which they desired, and gratify their national pride

‘If their imaginations hold,’ Sir James Crofts wrote to Sir Henry Percy,¹ ‘they mean to motion a marriage you know where’ The Earl of Arran had been thought of in his childhood as a fitting husband for Elizabeth, by Henry the Eighth. The King’s desire had been to link the royal families together by as many ties as possible; and while seeking Mary Stuart for Edward he had selected the nobleman next in succession for his second daughter. Arran was now four-and-twenty, two years younger than the Queen of England. He was known to be an earnest Protestant. The character or ability which might lie behind his creed, time and opportunity were required to show. He had grown up in honourable captivity on the Chatelherault estates in France, where he had been sent as a security for his father’s loyalty. On the first news of the insurrection in Scotland he was ordered to Paris, and as he did not obey, M. de Mompesat was despatched with orders to bring him ‘quick or dead’ to the Court.² When De Mompesat arrived at Chatelherault the bird was flown,

¹ June 14. *MS Rolls House*

² Throgmorton to the Council FORBES, vol. 1 p 144

and he returned empty-handed to Paris, to be received with a burst of passion by the Dauphiness, who told him he could do her no better service than use her cousin as a traitor wherever he met with him.¹ Arran meanwhile, after hiding for a fortnight in the woods of Poitou, escaped to Geneva; and the anticipation of the world pointed instinctively to the step expected next to follow. If the Queen of Scots sent the French to conquer her subjects, she might be held to have forfeited the crown. 'You,' said an emissary of the Congregation at Paris to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, 'have a Queen, and we our Prince the Earl of Arran, marriageable both, and chief upholders of God's religion. This may be a means to unite England and Scotland together, and there is no foundation nor league durable nor available but in God's cause.'²

In the face of the known intentions of the French Court, Elizabeth would have been but defending herself legitimately if she had seriously entertained a project which would cut the knot of so many difficulties. To unite England and Scotland in a common cause and a common belief was perhaps the safest as well as the boldest course before her. 'It is certain,' wrote the Bishop of Aquila to Philip, 'that a part of the council have recommended this marriage to the Queen.'³ Her own expression, that she would take a husband who would make the King of France's head ache, made De

¹ Throgmorton to the Council. FORBES, vol. 1 p. 148. ² Ibid p. 147

³ De Quadra to Philip, August 13. *MS. Simancas*

Quadra fear that she was herself deliberately contemplating it.

The difficulty was to get Arran safely to London. The French, the Austrians, the Spaniards, alike desired to prevent a catastrophe which would defeat all their schemes. The whole Continent was watched for him.¹ After a short correspondence with Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Elizabeth's dexterous ambassador at Paris, Cecil selected Henry Killigrew and one of the young Tremaynes of Cornwall 'as the fittest persons to be trusted with so difficult an enterprise,' and despatched them with instructions to bring the Earl through Germany to Emden, and thence to cross to England.

The Scots meanwhile continued to urge their own cause, intimating, without direct mention of Arran, that it might be of importance to 'both realms' 'that the Queen's marriage should not be hasty,' and pressing to know what Elizabeth would do if a French army were landed in Scotland. 'If ye suffer us to be overthrown,' Kirkaldy wrote to Cecil,² 'ye shall prepare a way for your own destruction, if you will advisably and friendly look upon us, Scotland will in turn be faithful to England to defend the libertaes of the same.' Knox at the same time sent a second apology for his unhappy book,

¹ 'The safe conveying of the Earl of Arran hither seemeth here a thing profitable and needful. It must be done secretly, as well in respect of the Emperor's subjects and friends, and the King of Spain's, as of the French, and herein haste, so it be with discretion, is thought most necessary, and to take shipping at Emden, in Friesland, rather than at Antwerp, is thought more safe'—Cecil to Throgmorton, June, 1559 *Conway MSS Rolls House*
² June 23 *Scotch MSS Rolls House*

saying that he had long looked 'to a perpetual concord between England and Scotland as the happiest prospect for both of them; that the occasion had arrived if the Queen would embrace it, and begging to be permitted to repair to her presence'¹

It is impossible to believe that Cecil in so serious a matter would have ventured to act without the Queen's approval. He replied to Kirkaldy through Sir Henry Percy, thanking him for his communications. He said 'he had imparted the matter in such secret manner, and to such parties as thereto was behoving'—that is, unquestionably, to the Queen herself—and 'that they had very good liking thereof.' He requested however some more explicit information as to their plans, their resources, and the amount of help which they would look for; and asked further, in case England consented to assist, 'what manner of amity might ensue, and how the same might be hoped to be perpetual.' Answers to these questions were desired with convenient speed; meantime Sir Henry Percy might assure the Congregation 'that rather than that realm should be with a foreign nation and power oppressed, and the nobility and such as sought to maintain the truth of the Christian religion should be expelled, the authority of England would venture with power and force to aid that realm against any foreign invasion.'²

Four days later Cecil wrote again to Sir James Crofts

¹ Knox to Cecil, June 28 • 4, endorsed in Cecil's hand, 'My Scotch MSS. Rolls House letter to Sir H. P. returned to me'

² Cecil to Sir Henry Percy, July Scotch MSS. Rolls House

at Berwick, desiring him to let the lords know that the Earl of Arran was on his way to England; that he had certain intelligence that the French King had determined to send over an army, and repeating his assurances that England 'neither might nor would see their ruin, so as the same might be assured of acquittal in some good friendship.'

Nay, so resolute was Cecil,¹ that he concluded by saying to Crofts.

'In any wise endeavour to kindle the fire—for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arise in our lives—and that which the Protestants mean to do should be done with all speed. for it will be too late when the French power cometh.'²

So far all was going well. Arran's name had been barely mentioned—but the allusion was none the less intelligible. The letter to Percy, and the message sent through Crofts, were communicated to the lords at Edinburgh, who replied to it by an open address to Elizabeth herself.

The union of the realms, they said, had been an object for which the wisest men in Scotland and England had long laboured ineffectually. An opportunity now offered itself such as never had occurred before. They had themselves enterprised battle against the Devil, against idolatry, against 'that sort of men' who had throughout been

¹ Again, it is idle to suppose that he was acting without Elizabeth's sanction

² Cecil to Sir James Crofts, July

8 Autograph draft endorsed, 'to be put in cipher'—*Scotch MSS Rolls House*

the friends of France and the enemies of England; and their overthrow would only be the 'entry of greater cruelty.' For the sake of Christ, therefore, and for the sake of His glorious Gospel, they implored the Queen and the English people to stand by them, 'and whatever conditions her Majesty or her Majesty's council could reasonably require should on their part not be denied' ¹ The petition was signed by Argyle, Glencarn, Ruthven, Lord James Stuart, Boyd, and Ochiltree. It was accompanied with a letter to Cecil, in which they said that their object was truly and sincerely to advance the gospel, to put down the tyranny of the clergy, and defend the liberties of Scotland. How they should accomplish it they did not know—they trusted only that He that had begun the good work would perform it to His glory. But they asserted with the utmost emphasis that there was no fear of their again falling away to France. There was no earthly thing which they so much desired as 'the joyful conjunction of the realms;' and they 'prayed God' that 'they might be the instruments by which the unnatural debate between them might be ended' ²

At this crisis an accidental thrust of a Scotch lance in Paris seemed for a moment as if it had spared Elizabeth the necessity of further anxiety. The excuse for the interference on which she had resolved was the unconcealed design of the King of France against herself.

¹ The Lords of the Congregation to the Queen of England, July 19
Scotch MSS Rolls House

² The Lords of the Congregation to Sir William Cecil
Scotch MSS. Rolls House.

On the 11th of July the news arrived in London that the King of France was dead.

In honour of the marriage of his daughter with Philip of Spain, Henry the Second held a gorgeous tournament. The insurrection of the Protestants had only precipitated a purpose in which he believed the King of Spain would now be compelled to acquiesce; and with special and ostentatious significance, the English arms were embroidered over the hangings of the throne, over the galleries, and on the breasts and sleeves of the heralds. The display was understood as the public declaration of the Queen of Scots' pretensions, and of his own determination to support them. The King himself took his place in the lists. On the last day of the festivities he was running a course with the Count Montgomery de Lorge, captain of the Scotch Guard, when De Lorge's lance striking full upon Henry's casque, tore it away from the helmet; the point broke short off, and the ragged staff pierced the King's forehead above the eyes, bearing him senseless to the ground. The surgeons at first believed that there was no danger, but a splinter had reached the brain. He lingered ten days, and died; and Francis and Mary Stuart were King and Queen of France. Whether with him had departed the vision of the conquest of England would depend on the persons on whom the administration of the kingdom devolved. Francis himself was a feeble child. If Catherine de Medici, the Constable, and the King of Navarre could seize the control, the world would fall into its old grooves, and England would be safe. If Mary Stuart had influ-

ence enough to give the direction to her uncles, there was more danger than ever.

About this there soon ceased to be a doubt. Less than a week after King Henry's death Throgmorton wrote that the Guises and the Queen of Scots ruled all in Paris. The defence of Metz and the capture of Calais had made the Duke of Guise the idol of the populace. Mary Stuart herself, though but nineteen, was dexterous and energetic beyond her years. The ultra-Catholic party, of which the Guises were the especial chiefs, was for the moment in the ascendancy; and of the five brothers, three at least—the Duke himself, the Marquis d'Elbœuf, and the Cardinal of Lorraine—were men of large ability and high grasping ambition. On the accession of Francis a question rose immediately whether the English quartermasters were to be introduced into the great seal of France. After some discussion, and probably in some fear of Spain, it was decided that the young King himself should use only the usual arms, but Mary Stuart might keep the title which she had assumed, and in all her public acts thenceforward should style herself Queen of England.

'The present King,' De Quadra wrote from England to the Emperor, 'will go forward with the enterprise more eagerly than his father. The army for Scotland is ready, and when Scotland is quieted will come England's turn.'¹

'England,' said the Count de Feria to Sir Thomas

¹ De Quadra to Ferdinand, August, 1559. *MS Simancas*

Chaloner, 'will be another Milan to set the princes by the ears. You see who rule about the young King—the greatest enemies you have—only the House of Guise.'¹

From France itself the warnings came thicker and ever thicker.² Could the Guises succeed in the conquest of England, they would gain a hold in France which nothing again could shake. Their passionate orthodoxy gave them a claim on the regard of Philip. If he could tolerate the enterprise at all it would be in their hands, and they would be quick about it, for the health of Francis was precarious. The Queen-mother dreaded them. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé hated them. They would not wait for the possibilities of the future, they would make for port while the tide was at its flood.

Two courses were open to Elizabeth. Marry the Archduke Charles, said the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, and the English Conservatives: marry Charles, leave alone the revolutionary Scots and the new doctrines; and Spain will remain your friend, and you will have nothing to fear. Marry Arran, said the ultra-Protestants. Declare that if the French invade Scotland Mary Stuart will forfeit her throne; accept the offers of the Congregation; unite the realms in a single kingdom; and with the whole island

¹ Sir T. Chaloner to Elizabeth, August 13 *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*

² Letters of Sir N. Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July and August, 1559
FORBES, vol. 1

you may defy the world. Practise with Huguenots in France, practise with the disaffected in the Low Countries; and you will find these Catholic kings work enough at home, and they will be in no hurry to meddle with you

Such in effect were the alternatives of the situation. Elizabeth herself appeared to have ^{August} small desire to choose either. The Austrian marriage was safe but inglorious; reports were unfavourable of 'Charles with the large head;' and Spanish interference would come back with Spanish protection. The other plan was bold and grand, but there was many a doubt to be solved before she could venture a step so desperate; she had to be assured of the character of Arran whom she had never seen, and of the constancy of the Scots, of which, in spite of the vehemency of their asseverations, she had reason to feel uncertain. How passionately they had set their hearts upon the Arran marriage will be seen hereafter, but Elizabeth did not know it. In their present fear of conquest they were ready to throw themselves into the arms of England, but there was a French faction among them, the creation of an alliance of centuries. There was a habit of looking to France as their guardian against English intrusion, which the capricious fever of national pride might at any time warm into life again, and the Queen might fly in the face of the public feeling of Europe to find herself left to bear the consequences alone. Sir N Throgmorton himself, while advising her not to allow

the French to oppress the Scots, added a warning that she must not trust them too entirely;¹ and even their present attitude and present condition were not promising. The insurrection had blazed up furiously, but it had burnt out like a fire of straw. In the beginning of July the Congregation were at Edinburgh many thousands strong; and d'Oysel was cooped up with a few hungry mutinous companies at Dunbar, expecting to be driven into the sea. But the popular army scattered as swiftly as it had collected. The people had come from their homes with a few days' provisions in their wallets: when it was eaten they could but disperse or starve.

'If these proceedings go forward,' wrote Sir James Crofts to Cecil, 'the principal doers must have relief. They be all poor, and necessity will force them to leave off when all they have is spent.'²

Nor was this the worst. Grand as was the cause, the hearts of many engaged in it were lukewarm, and French crowns had weight with too many an empty purse.³ Even Kirkaldy hesitated to declare himself openly. He was owed money by the Regent, which he feared to lose.

In the midst of such symptoms Knox did not improve Elizabeth's humour. As she had not replied to his message through Cecil, he wrote to herself. She was angry with him, he said, for his book; but 'his book did not

¹ FORBES, vol 1 p 181, &c

² Crofts to Cecil, July 20. *Scotch MSS Rolls House*

³ 'Some of our number are poor, and we fear corruption by money'—Kirkaldy to Cecil, July 17. *MS Ibid*

touch her unless she deserved it. If she would continue to defend God's truth God would defend her, and he and God's friends would pray for her

'But consider deeply,' he rashly went on, 'how, for fear of your life, ye did decline from God and bow to idolatry Let it not appear a small offence in your eyes that ye have declined from Christ Jesus in the day of His battle. God hath preserved you when ye were most unthankful, and hath raised you from the ports of death to rule above His people, for the comfort of His kirk It appertaineth to you to ground the justice of your authority, not upon that law which from year to year doth change, but on the eternal providence of Him who, contrary to nature, and without your deserving, hath thus exalted your head. But if you begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority upon your own law, flatter you whoso list, your felicity shall be short

'Interpret my rude words as written by him who is no enemy to your Grace By divers letters I have required license to visit your realm—not to seek myself, neither yet my own ease or commodity—which if you now refuse or deny, I must remit myself unto God, adding this for conclusion: that such as refuse the counsel of the faithful, appear it never so sharp, are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition'¹

Prophetic rebuke was not calculated to work favour-

¹ John Knox to Queen Elizabeth, July 20 *Scotch MSS Rolls House.*

ably on Elizabeth; nor was it recommended by the proceedings with which it was accompanied Kirkaldy, inviting Cecil to the proposed alliance, said that 'all Europe should know that a league formed in the name of God had another foundation than factions made by man for worldly commodity.'¹ Elizabeth would have been contented to have heard fewer words about God could she have found more genuine fear of God, or even more human firmness and resolution. The lords and commons of Scotland all united in arms, might have disposed of a few hundred half-starved, mutinous Frenchmen, with no particular difficulty; yet not only were they unable to drive them from Dunbar, but after three weeks' respite, and after the first fierce heat had passed off, d'Oysel contrived to pacify his own troops, to win back Huntly and Chatelherault, and though without a single crown or an additional man, to make himself strong enough to take the field again. On the

July 23rd of July he occupied Leith. Erskine, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, declared for the Queen, and threatened to fire on the Congregation if they refused to make terms, and Logan of Restalrig went over from them to the French. So swiftly the fire had burnt down. The next day the Protestants accepted conditions which they did not even profess to expect that the Queen would observe. Under pretence that the coin was debased, they had taken possession of the mint stamps. These they were

¹ Kirkaldy to Cecil. *Scotch MSS Rolls House.*

made to return. * They bound themselves to disturb no more monasteries and to alter the services in no more churches till the next Parliament, they would evacuate Edinburgh, and leave Holyrood for the Queen to reoccupy. On the other side, the citizens of Edinburgh stipulated for liberty of conscience; and the Government gave a general promise that no one should be troubled or prosecuted for the part which he had taken in the insurrection.

A clause was added by the Congregation in the first draft of the engagement, that the French troops should be sent out of the country, and that no more should be introduced without the consent of the Scotch Parliament. Kirkaldy even represented to Cecil that it was one of the conditions to which the Queen Regent had agreed.¹

But the Protestants had been too divided and too weak to insist upon the single point which would have guaranteed their safety. In vain the more determined among them pleaded that 'their cause was not yet so desperate, that they need grant things unreasonable and ungodly.' Intrigue, distrust, and lavish promises of money had done their work. The agreement was signed, Huntly and Chatelherault making themselves securities for the Queen; ² and the few in the Congregation who were really in earnest, withdrew beyond reach of danger. The Lords who had written to Elizabeth, signed a bond

¹ Kirkaldy to Cecil, July 24. *Scotch MSS. Rolls House Cotton MSS. CALIG. B. 10*

² D'Oysel to Noailles. *TEULET*, vol. 1

to stand by each other through good fortune or evil, and they then dispersed, some to the Western Highlands, some into Fife.

It is no matter of surprise that a change so sudden should have increased Elizabeth's perplexity. She had distrusted their ultimate resources, but she had not looked for so complete and so immediate a breakdown. She had allowed Cecil to commit himself to a correspondence with unsuccessful rebels, and furnished the French with a pretext for declaring war against her, which the Spaniards would be forced to recognize. Argyle and Lord James sent explanations and apologies. They had been outnumbered at Edinburgh, three times over, they said; the Castle was against them, and a multitude was always hard to persuade into a revolt¹. If this were so, it was the less safe to entangle herself with so fickle a people. John Knox went in secret to Berwick to talk to Sir James Crofts. The English commander told him he did not see how Elizabeth could interfere, while the Protestants were thus disorganized, and had no recognized authority among them. Knox said that 'they would elect from among themselves whatever leader her Highness thought meet,' when Arran came to England she could see what he was made of; if Arran was not man enough, there was Lord James Stuart². Crofts gave him still but a cold answer, and so little confidence had Knox in the stability of the

¹ Argyle and Lord James Stuart to Sir James Crofts, August 6
Scottish MSS Rolls House

² Crofts to Cecil, August 3 *Scottish MSS Rolls House*

cause, when left only in Scottish hands, that he wrote after leaving Berwick, that unless 'the English council were more forward,' they would utterly discourage the hearts of all their friends 'If the Protestants could not have present support, they would not trifle, they would seek the next remedy to preserve their own bodies. He did not mean that they would return to France; but they would give up the struggle, leave the country to the enemy, and the English might make their account of what would ensue towards themselves' ¹

Here was but a frail foundation on which to defy the Catholic world Cecil wrote an enigmatic letter to Knox, expressing a wish, if possible, to see him. A few days earlier he had written to the Lords, recommending the course which had saved the Reformation in England, and had proved a better security for men's consistency than exaggerated and inflated phrases

'Ye know,' he said, 'your chief adversaries the Popish kirkmen be noted wise in their generation, and they be rich also, whereby they make many friends, by their wit, with false persuasions, by their riches, with corruption As long as they feel no sharpness nor offence, they be cold; but if they be once touched with fear, they be the greatest cowards. In our first Reformation here in King Henry the Eighth's time, if the prelatry had been left in their pomp and power, the victory had been theirs I like no spoil, but I allow to have

¹ Knox to Sir James Crofts, August 6 *MS* Ibid

good things put to a good use; as to the^e enriching of the Crown, to the help of the youth of the nobility, to the maintenance of ministry in the Church, and of learning in the schools.'

Cecil added that three thousand French were on the point of sailing from Havre; and he could not but wonder that the Scotch should seek for help from England, while they took so little pains themselves to secure their harbours, and prevent the invaders from landing. England would do what it could to save them, but the difficulties of the times were great, and it was a serious thing to begin a new war with France.¹

So far Cecil, not unreasonably. But it was necessary to determine promptly what should be done; and according to his usual habit, he drew a sketch of the situation, with the arguments for and against an active interference in Scotland—arguments which had either been urged between himself and the Queen, or between himself and other members of the Council, or as an account merely of what had passed in his own mind.²

August 5 The greatest happiness for Scotland, he said, was either to be 'at perpetual peace with England,' 'or to be made one monarchy with England, as they two should make but one isle.' So long as Scotland was under the influence of the French, they

¹ Cecil to the Lords of the Congregation, July 28 *Scotch MSS* | of Scotland to its ancient state, written by my Lord Treasurer's own hand, August 5, 1559' *Cotton Rolls House*

² 'A memorial of certan points meet for the restoring of the realm' *MSS CALIG B 10. Sadler Papers*, vol II p 375, &c.

would use it as an instrument of their designs on England; and therefore, as far as possible, it ought to be governed by the Scots themselves. The Queen being childless, the Hamiltons as next in succession had a right, with the consent of the nobility, to keep watch over the liberties of the country. If they pleased they might insist on a Reformation both in the Church and in the administration; and if the Queen refused to consent, or if it were likely that she would refuse, then 'was it apparent that Almighty God was pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom,' and Scotland once free, 'might consider what means could be devised to accord the two realms.'

Such being in Cecil's opinion the general bearings of the case, the question was, whether England should assist the Congregation to expel the French troops.

Against it was the natural impropriety of assisting subjects in a revolt against their Sovereign; the danger and expense of war; the possibility that after the Queen of England had fatally committed herself, the French and Scots might make up their quarrel, and combine to support Mary Stuart's pretensions to her Crown; with the further possibility that Spain might make common cause with France to prevent Scotland and England from forming a united Protestant power.

On the other hand, self-defence was the first law of nature. All persons, public and private, 'might use the same manner of defence as the adversary used in offence,' and there was sufficient justification for inter-

ference on these grounds, if Elizabeth chose to venture it

It was not a simple case of helping insurgents—for the Queen of England claimed feudal sovereignty over the Scots, and was legally entitled to protect them. The intentions of the French were notorious to all the world. They had challenged the English Crown at Cambray, they had applied to the Pope to pronounce for their right; and the Queen of France had assumed the English arms. The Guises aspired to immortal honour by annexing England as well as Scotland to France, ‘through the same woman, their cousin’ and they were only waiting for their opportunity. If the Scots could have kept the field there would have been no danger, but without money they could not hold together for more than a few days. They would be conquered in detail; and England would then have to contend with the power of both countries. It might be thought more prudent to wait to be attacked, but a large costly army would have to be maintained on the borders—and how unequal England was to such a burden ‘was pitiful to understand’. The old generals Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northumberland, were dead, the people were decimated by famine and pestilence, and their temper was uncertain, the French had the trained armies of Italy, the Rhinegrave had raised 5000 Germans for them, the King of Denmark had sent transports. and should they sit still at home, ‘that would soon happen which would move and stir all good English bloods—some to fear, some to anger, some to be at their wits’ end.’

Cecil's conclusion therefore was in favour of immediate action, and to this for a time he brought Elizabeth to consent. If possible, he would limit himself however to sending money, which it would be easy to deny. The necessary help might be given, and formal offence be avoided. Elizabeth, though in broad daylight she desired to act uprightly, was without the minor scruples which embarrass timid consciences. The correspondence of the Lords with Cecil had been suspected, though not absolutely discovered, by the Queen Regent. The French ambassador Noailles laid a complaint before Elizabeth, and putting a bold face upon the matter, she replied herself to Mary of Guise, in a letter which, after the part which August 7 she had played and was prepared to play it must have required some courage to write.

ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN REGENT OF SCOTLAND

'Right High and Right excellent Princess, our dear sister and ally, we commend ourselves to you most cordially. We understand from the ambassador of our good brother the King of France, that certain of our officers on the frontiers have held intelligence with the rebels late in arms against your authority. We cannot but find it very strange that any of our subjects, and much more that persons in positions of public trust, should of their own accord, and regardless of our displeasure have sought means to meddle with any such people. Forasmuch however as at present we know no particulars of these things—but, on being well informed,

will proceed to punish the offenders—we must entreat you to specify more exactly what you complain of, and let us know the entire truth, to the end that after examination and proof, we may give orders for the chastisement of such as shall be found to have offended—which you may assure yourself we will not fail to do, being as we are most desirous to show you that good will and friendship which we owe you as our neighbour, and to maintain those good relations which at present exist between us.’¹

Aug 8 The day after the date of this letter, Sir Ralph Sadler, whose experience in Scottish diplomacy had been long and tried, was sent down to the northern Border. He carried with him 3000*l*, to

¹ ‘Très haute et très puissante Princesse, nostre chère sœur et alliée, nous nous recommandons très cordialement à vous. Nous estant donné entendre par l’Ambassadeur de nostre bon frère le Roy de France ici résidant que puis naguères aucuns de voz ministres des frontières auroient eu intelligence de vostre dernier troublement avec les rebelles et autres parties à vous désobéissans, ce que nous ne pouvons trouver que fort estrange que aucun de nos sugès et plus noz officiers et ministres publiques ayantz charge des places deussent de leur teste cognoissant quel desplaisir nous est et doit estre, aller chercher tels moyens de se mesler avec telle sorte du peuple.’ Pour autant que à présent nous n’avons encore en-

tendu les particularités d’iceux nous avons pencé estre bon de vous prier de nous faire apparoirre les causes plus amplement, et nous donner entendre la vraye vérité et les particularités certaines autant que en ce se peut cognoistre, et véritablement prouver que enfin nous pouvons donner telle hordre pour le punissement de ceux qui seront trouvez coupables et fauteurs.

‘Ce que pouvés bien estre assurée nous ne ferons faute de faire pour le désir que avons de monstier extérieurement le zelle et bonne amitié que portons à la bonne voyssance et maintenir l’amytié présente qui est entre nous. Donné soubz nostre signet, etc, le vii de Aoust, le 1^{er} an de nostre regne.’—TEULET, vol. 1 p. 341

be distributed among 'the rebels' at his discretion; Elizabeth herself giving him his commission 'to treat in all secrecy with any manner of persons in Scotland for the union of the realms,' and referring him for special instructions to a memoir which he would receive from Cecil.¹ The memoir directed Sadler, 'as his principal scope,' to nourish the factions between the Scots and the French, 'so as the French might be the better occupied with them, and the less with England.' The King of Spain did not govern Brabant and Flanders by Spaniards, nor had he thrust Spaniards into government in England. Chatelherault, in like manner, should insist that Scotland should be governed by Scots. It would be well also, if possible, to have d'Oysel arrested as a hostage for Arran.² And finally, Sadler was instructed to find out whether 'Lord James Stuart did mean any enterprise towards the Crown of Scotland for himself; and if he did mean anything—and 'if the Duke were found cold in his own cause'—'whether it would be amiss to let Lord James follow his own device, without dissuading or persuading him anything therein.'³

Meanwhile, what had become of the Earl of Arran? He came to England at the end of July—within a day or two of the despatch of Sir Ralph Sadler. He was

¹ Elizabeth to Sir Ralph Sadler, August 8, 1559 *Sadler Papers*, vol. 1 p. 391

² And yet, unless De Quadra was wrongly informed, Arran had been at this very time several days in

England, and Cecil had seen him. It is difficult to follow the intricacies of diplomatic by-play

³ Instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, August 8 *Scottish MSS. Rolls House*.

concealed in Cecil's house in London, where the Spanish ambassador discovered that Elizabeth saw him.¹ The first impression was said to have been favourable. De Quadra feared from what he heard that the marriage would go forward; and in that case, he said, 'that the Queen would pursue her heretical intrigues in France as she had done in Scotland—neither fear nor conscience would stop her; when France was in flames, the turn of the Low Countries would come next; at that moment she was welcoming every heretic that came over to her.'²

'Her position,' De Quadra wrote at the same time to the Emperor, 'is so perilous that one would have thought she would have caught at the marriage with the Archduke to save herself, but she is so passionate in these matters of religion, she has so preposterous a notion of her own strength—of which it is impossible to disenchant her—that I have little hope that she will do anything good.'³

The interview with Arran however had not produced the effect which De Quadra feared. The Queen saw him again for some hours at Hampton Court; but although she was forced to conceal what she thought of him—to

¹ De Quadra to Philip, August 13. *MSS Simancas*. Cecil, writing to Throgmorton on the 29th of August, mentions the fact of Arran having been in his house, and of the Queen's interview with him, but does not mention the day. *Conway MSS Rolls House*. Jewel tells Peter Martyr in the following February, that 'Crito' (the name by which Arran was known) had been to Athens, and won the good graces of Glycerium. *ZURICH Letters*, p. 68. Cecil's letter fixes the date to August, De Quadra's letter to the beginning of August.

² De Quadra to Philip, August 13. *MSS. Simancas*. ³ *Ibid*.

conceal, so far as possible, the fact of his having been in England at all—it seems that she discovered him at once to be the half-crazy fool which he proved to be, and resolved irrevocably that, whatever else she might do, in that direction there was no road open to her.

Nor was the state of Scotland becoming more satisfactory. There were fewer signs than ever of self-reliance among the Protestants, or of steadiness of purpose. Before Sadler arrived they were growing more and more impatient of Elizabeth's slowness to help them. Chatelherault wavered. Argyle and Lord James wrote to Cecil to demand proofs of good-will more tangible than words. Mary Stuart had written privately to each particular nobleman to bribe, to flatter, or menace them back to their allegiance. Throgmorton reported from Paris that a correspondence of some kind was passing between Lord James and his sister, that the French intended to promise the Scots toleration in religion, if the Scots would support their designs against Elizabeth.¹ It was understood that the Queen of Scots and her husband 'would spend the crown of France' rather than yield; and John Knox again gave Cecil distinct notice that he would not answer for the consequences, unless the Congregation 'saw greater forwardness to their support' in the English Government.²

There was this strange feature in the attitude of the Scots, that if not the hearty allies of England, they

¹ Sir N. Throgmorton to Elizabeth, September 10. FORBES, vol i p. 226.

² Knox to Cecil, August 15. *Scottish MSS. Rolls House.*

would be the equally hearty enemies of England. If the new passion of religion could not be gratified, the passion of nationality, and the bitter memories of Flodden and Pinkie Cleugh would be revived. They were capricious friends and dangerous foes. The long-delayed French reinforcements were beginning to arrive. Two thousand men were landed at Leith at the end of August—the advanced guard of the Marquis d'Elbœuf, who was to follow with the main army. De Feria, who seemed to know all that passed in England, even to the whispers in the Queen's closet, warned Chaloner of the close approach of the catastrophe, and more than hinted that Philip would interfere to protect Elizabeth only as the wife of the Archduke Charles.¹

While Sir Ralph Sadler on the Border therefore was secretly encouraging the Congregation, Elizabeth at home maintained more than ever an appearance of indifference to them. The Earl of Arran, after a last interview with her, went north on the 1st of September, in the company of Thomas Randolph.² Their passports were made out in the names of De Beaufort and Barnabee; and Sadler's instructions were to see the Earl safe over the Border; yet in such a manner that his own hand should be undiscovered, and that the fact of Arran having been in England, though it might be suspected, should be incapable of proof.³

¹ Chaloner to Queen Elizabeth, August 13. *Spanish MSS Rolls House*

² Cecil to Sadler, August 31. *Sadler Papers*, vol 1 pp 417, 418

³ The secret had been so well kept from the French, that although known to De Quadra, it was only discovered by the French ambassador, Noailles, at the beginning of

On the same 1st of September, the French ambassador again spoke to Elizabeth of the correspondence between the Congregation and the Governor of Berwick. Elizabeth ventured to reply that although she could not answer for her ministers, some of whom might have been foolish enough to exchange letters with the insurgent Scots, yet that the Congregation deceived themselves if they expected assistance from her in their foolish enterprise. She had written nothing and had promised nothing. Her handwriting was well known. If the Queen Regent could find it, she might produce it ¹

On the 5th, Noailles assured the King of France on Elizabeth's word that she would take no part in Scotland.² On the 6th, little knowing the nerve which he was touching, he spoke to her of Arran's escape from France, and required her, if the Earl came to England, to arrest him and send him to Paris—as by the treaty of Cambray she was bound to do. Elizabeth gravely avowed that she had heard nothing of Arran. Should it be in her power, however, she would not fail to do what her good brother desired.³ Again Noailles spoke

October —Noailles to d'Oysel, October 12. TEULET, vol. 1 p 361

¹ 'Neantmoins que ceux de la dicte Congrégation se trouveroient grandement deceuz s'ilz esperoient aucune faveur d'elle en leurs folles entreprises, et qu'elle ne leur avoit rien escript ny promis. Estant son signet bien aysé a congnoistre pour estre monstré s'il s'en trouvoit'—
Noailles to the Queen Regent of

Scotland, September 1: TEULET, vol 1 p 342

² Sadler's instructions were 'to lend the Protestants money as of himself, taking secretly their bonds of them to render the same, so as the Queen should not be a party thereto. —Cecil to Sadler, September 12. *Sadler Papers*, vol 1. pp 438, 439

³ 'Le Roy desiroit qu'en vertue des traictez elle le luy voulust rendre

of the communications with Berwick. 'Again she protested that she was not a person to say one thing and do another. If bad stories were blown over the Border, she could not help it.

The coolness of her self-command only half deceived Noailles. She laughed too much. 'There is more dissimulation in her,' he said, 'than honesty or good-will; and few people living can play that game as well as she.'¹ Yet so cautious had she been that even members of her own council knew but half the truth. Lord William Howard swore that he would lose honour and life if the Queen in any way whatever was a party to the Scotch rebellion²

Count Cavour in 1860 encouraged Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily, while in public he denied all knowledge of it. The political exigencies of Cavour's position were but slight compared to those which drove Elizabeth into falsehood. Even among the Scots themselves the more cautious preferred secret help to an avowed alliance, which would give the French an excuse for sending troops among them; while the Spaniards, dreading in all its forms Elizabeth's advocacy of the Protestants,

comme son rebelle. A quoy la dicte Dame après plusieurs propos de ce fait m'assura ne scavoir aucunes nouvelles de luy, et quand il seroit en son pouvoir elle en contenteroit le Roy et satisferoit en cela à son désir'—Noailles to d'Oysel, September 6. TEULET, vol 1 p. 347

¹ 'En tous ses propos je cuyde y avoir plus de dissimulation que de

certitude et bonne volonté, estant, ce que dict chacun, mieulx néé pour jouer ce personnage que mil autres'—Noailles to d'Oysel. TEULET, vol 1 p. 357.

² 'Il repondit avec grand serment qu'il vouloit perdre la vie et l'honneur, si elle y entendoit jamais.'—Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine Ibid. p. 557

yet dreaded more a conquest of England by France; and their chief fear was of some open breach of treaty which would enable the French to require them to stand neutral.

‘If we would escape our own ruin,’ the Bishop of Arras wrote to Philip, ‘we must do as much to defend England as we should do for Brussels. The Queen will be our destruction if she openly assist the Scots¹ in favour of the Earl of Arran. The French will then have good ground to tell us that we are bound by the treaties not to assist her, seeing that she herself will be the attacking party.’²

Meanwhile Lord Howard’s words and the decisiveness of the Queen’s own denials succeeded in perplexing Noailles, if not in wholly deceiving him.

‘The truth,’ he wrote, ‘will appear at last; and we shall know one day whether she has meddled in these affairs or not. If the war go on we shall take prisoners; and they, if there be a secret, will let it out.’³

Elizabeth was but defending herself with the weapons with which she was attacked—and so far she had scarcely exceeded the permitted bounds of diplomatic concealment. Her next step was more audacious. It was necessary to humour the hopes of the Spaniards, and to play with the Austrian marriage. It is just possible that after the sight of Arran she may have for a time seriously turned her thoughts toward it.

¹ ‘Si a la descubierta ayuda à los Escoceses’

² The Bishop of Arras to Philip II, December 5 *MS. Simancas*

³ Noailles to the Cardinal of Lorraine, October 28 *TEULET*, vol 1 p 363, &c.

On the 7th of September—six days after Arran's departure—Lady Sidney,¹ who was in attendance on the Queen at Hampton Court, sent a message to De Quadra to say that if the Archduke's suit was pressed it would be listened to favourably. The Bishop, who had ceased to hope, contrived to see Lady Sidney to inquire the meaning of so sudden a change. Lady Sidney told him a very strange story. She said that there had been a plot to murder the Queen and Lord Robert at a banquet which was to be given at Lord Arundel's. The frightfulness of the danger, coupled with the disturbances in Scotland, had so alarmed Elizabeth that she had positively determined to marry. Sir Thomas Parry and Lord Robert were the only persons as yet aware of her intention; but it was with the Queen's knowledge that she was now speaking to him. He might assure himself she would not risk her life in such a matter by telling an untruth; and De Quadra had but to take the first opportunity of speaking to the Queen himself, to be satisfied of the sincerity of her intentions.

Lord Robert Dudley confirmed his sister's story, and offered the ambassador his good offices. Parry told him that the Queen found the peril of her position too heavy to endure; and that only the evening preceding she had called Lady Sidney and himself into her closet, and after a long conversation had ended with saying that there was no alternative, and that by this marriage alone could she save either herself or the realm

¹ Lord Robert Dudley's sister, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother of Sir Philip.

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The very wildness of the story seemed a guarantee for its truth; no one would have invented anything so improbable. But the Bishop, perplexed and suspicious, knew not what to think. He could discover nothing about the conspiracy beyond a whisper that Lord Robert was to have been killed and the Queen poisoned. Strange tales were flying about Montague, Dacre, and the Catholic bishops, as being concerned in it; and De Quadra feared some contrivance of the French. He sent a detail however of what had passed to the Duchess of Parma, De Feria, and Arras,¹ and a few days later wrote at length to Ferdinand, telling him of Elizabeth's attempt to revolutionize Scotland with her scheme of marrying Arran and uniting the realms; but saying that he believed really she had lost confidence in the Scots. She knew that the French had but to send over an army for the Catholics to rise, and that her only resource was to do as Lady Sidney had said. 'She did not wish to marry, she would escape it if she could, or if she dared; but circumstances were too strong for her, and she would make the venture' So at least he thought²

'You ask me to be frank with you,' said Elizabeth herself, when De Quadra spoke to her, as Lady Sidney bade him do. 'If the Emperor would have me for a daughter-in-law, let him send over his son to see me. I am a queen and a lady. I cannot ask a man to come to England and marry me. I would die a thousand deaths

¹ *MS. Simancas*

² De Quadra to the Emperor Ferdinand, September 12. *MS. Simancas.*

first. Others marry for interest; I if possible would marry for affection.'

'His Highness cannot come,' replied De Quadra, 'without some assurance that it will not displease your Majesty'

Elizabeth smiled

'England,' she said, 'is free to all the world to come and go. If he has no fear but that, he may come when he will; but I am afraid he may not be contented with me'

'A person so gifted by nature as your Majesty,' said the smooth Bishop, 'need have no alarm on that score.'

'I mean,' replied the Queen, with some embarrassment,—'I mean, he may hear things said of me which may not please him.'

'Let not your Majesty trouble yourself about that,' said De Quadra. 'We know too well what really passes in this Court to be moved by idle rumours. Had we given credit to the talk of the world, we should not have desired to see the Archduke here.'

Elizabeth affected to be pleased. She was afraid, it appeared, that the Archduke might take advantage of the scandal which could not fail to reach his ears on his arrival in England, and should he not marry her after all, her honour might suffer. De Quadra regretted that she should have allowed her peace to be disturbed by so unworthy a suspicion. Married or unmarried, he assured her that the Arch-

duke would never behave otherwise than as a courteous gentleman.¹

Immediately on this conversation Elizabeth wrote to Philip, saying that it would give her October. pleasure if his cousin would come to England. She had always shrunk from marriage, as he was well aware; and she could not say that her aversion was diminished. The Archduke nevertheless would be welcome to the Court; and she herself would be glad to see and know him.²

The words were cautious, yet in connection with her language to De Quadra could be interpreted favourably; while mutual assurances passed between the ambassador and Cecil—Cecil expressing his own earnest hope that the affair might go forward, his conviction that nothing else could save the Queen, and his confidence that the King of Spain would not forsake her in her necessities; De Quadra undertaking that when the marriage was once concluded the King his master would do more for her than she could ask.³

Nor was this all. The Queen seemed to accept the conditions which the marriage would imply and oblige; and as if to separate herself distinctly from the Protestant party, she gave orders for the restoration of the crucifix in the Chapel Royal. Angry words were exchanged between the council and the chaplains; Bedford spoke with bitter surprise to Cecil, and the order was sus-

¹ De Quadra to the Emperor, October 3 *MS Simancas*.

² Elizabeth to Philip II., October 5 *MS Ibid*

³ De Quadra to Philip II., October 5 *MS Ibid*

pended for a day or two; but on the Sunday following service was performed with the altar in full costume, and the priest in orthodox vestments.¹

If she failed in persuading the Catholics that she was likely to return to them, she succeeded in exasperating the Protestants to the furthest extent which the Bishop could desire. The preachers raved at her from the pulpits, the people were distracted. She herself, if she was acting a part, was doing it so well that she deceived her own party; and De Quadra congratulated himself on seeing the difficulties of her position growing deeper every day.

After this last step it was thought that the Archduke had only to appear, and the Queen would find herself unable to escape. The Duke of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, the whole peerage, with but a few exceptions, were in favour of the marriage, while scarcely a man of note or interest would oppose it. And beyond the public and political reasons which made the connection desirable, her best and truest friends on other grounds were anxious to see her under the shelter of a husband.

With or without cause, her relations with Lord Robert Dudley were attracting increasing remark. Norfolk,

¹ 'La Reyna mandó que se pusiese en el altar un crucifijo y unas velas por lo cual hubo tanto ruido entre sus capellanos y los del consejo que dejó de hacerse lo que la Reyna mandaba aquella tarde. El Sabado a vespasas fué hecho, y el Domingo habó vestimentos y clérigos en vestidos como nosotros usamos'—De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras, October 9. 'Bedford deshonró estos dias á Cecil sobre lo del crucifijo'—De Quadra to De Feria, October 27. *MS Simancas*

who detested and despised the whole Dudley clan, commented in public on the favour which was shown to Lord Robert; and Lady Sidney's strange story of the conspiracy was perhaps but a distorted and exaggerated account of some real menace expressed against a man who was putting in peril the Queen's honour.¹

More at his ease than with his royal correspondent, De Quadra wrote freely all his thoughts to De Feria.

'It is the devil's own business here. But the Catholics grow stronger daily, and the heretics are quarrelling with one another so bitterly that they have forgotten their other enemies.

'Bedford has insulted Cecil about the crucifix; the Queen has quarrelled with him—for what cause God knows; and the heretic bishops preach against her, and scream about the revenue of their sees. The harvest is ready if there were a hand to grasp the sickle; but I know not where the reapers are to come from unless from heaven.

'If the Queen were a woman with either sense or conscience, something might be done about the marriage. But she is so reckless, I know not what to think. Her embarrassments are all that we could wish. They could not be greater than they are. One step more and swords

¹ 'No hay hombre que no habla dado mucho que pensar estos dias á dello y le amenaza. Esta motin la Reyna y á Roberto, hablando en tiene por caudillos al Duque de sus liviandades y mal gobierno pub- Norfolk y al Conde de Sussex, y á licamente' — De Quadra to the todos los principales que favorecen Duchess of Parma, October 29 al Archiduque, y el de Norfolk ha *MS Simancas*

will be drawn. But this I conclude his Majesty wishes to prevent. The chief advantage of the match, could we bring it about, would be that the French would at once give up their enterprise. It would also tend to quiet the minds both of Catholics and heretics, each of whom believes that the Archduke will be on their side. The heretics however will let him be a Catholic if he will leave them alone; and so will the Queen, who is already tired of the fine doings into which she was tempted at the beginning.

‘She talks to me in a marvellous manner; but I give her as good as she brings; and I can do much more with her than I could at first. She has discovered that all clergy are not such sheep as her own¹. There are ten or twelve ambassadors of us, all competing for her Majesty’s hand, and they say the Duke of Holstein is coming next, as a suitor for the King of Denmark. The Duke of Finland, who is here for his brother the King of Sweden, threatens to kill the Emperor’s man; and the Queen fears they will cut each other’s throat in her presence.’²

The letter to Philip might have served as a sufficient invitation for the Archduke; yet before the Queen had ascertained whether he was coming or not, she was playing with another suitor. The King of Sweden was the next favourite. Lord Robert, who had been so fervently Imperialist, deserted his colours, and went over

¹ ‘La Reyna anda muy mas á m̃voluntad de lo que soliamos despues que ha visto que los cluigos no son todos ovejas como los de su tierra.’

² De Quadra to De Feria, October 29. *MS. Simancas.*

with the change of wind ; and De Quadra, who had but half believed in the sincerity of the first advances, resolved to cross question her.

‘Two causes influenced me,’ he wrote to Philip. ‘Lady Sidney finds her brother so changed that she has quarrelled with him. She remains true to us. He has passed over to the Swede. But this is not all. I have learnt from a person who usually gives me true information, that Lord Robert has sent instructions to have his wife poisoned, and that all the dallying with us, all the dallying with the Swede, all the dallying which there will be with the rest, one after the other, is merely to keep Lord Robert’s enemies in play till his villany about his wife can be executed. I have learnt also certain other things as to the terms on which the Queen and Lord Robert stand towards each other, which I could not have believed.

‘From this, and from Lady Sidney’s uneasiness, I resolved to come to an understanding with her. I told her that the Archduke was already perhaps on his way to England, and I desired to know how he was to be received.

‘She evaded my question, and said something vague and general ; but seeing this would not satisfy me, she said that although at present she did not wish to marry, she might perhaps change her mind when she saw him.

‘I reminded her of what Lady Sidney and Sir Thomas Parry had said to me at her desire, and I told her that I could not have recommended the Emperor to send his

son over unless with some tolerable expectation that good would come of it.

‘She said that no doubt Lady Sidney had intended well; but she had spoken without any commission from her.

‘I burst out at this It was perfectly certain that she, and no one else, had been at the bottom of it. I told her that I should let the Emperor know what she had said, and it would be for him to decide whether on such conditions the Archduke should visit England.

She was very ill pleased at being forced so far to declare herself Lord Paget tells me that there is no escape for her, and that she must accept this marriage. And yet, considering what Lady Sidney said to me, I think I did right in pressing her to say something definite.

‘The Duke of Norfolk is the leader of Lord Robert’s enemies, who are in fact all the greatest persons in the realm, and the Duke says Lord Robert shall never die in his bed unless he gives over his preposterous pretensions. I let him know what had passed between myself and the Queen. He sent me word in answer that if the Archduke was to come he would find the weight of the country on his side, and that for himself he would forfeit his rank if he did not secure him the votes of every man of influence or birth. For myself, I do not believe she will ever take the Archduke, whether he come or not, but her disorderly ways may bring some disaster upon her; and in that case the Lords

might perhaps' offer the Archduke the crown, and marry him to Lady Catherine Grey.'¹

To attempt to discover Elizabeth's intentions from her language is wasted labour. Deliberately, or in spite of herself, she was doing what she was compelled to deny, and she was either playing with the Spaniards, or else humouring her own subjects, or else providing herself with a reserved scheme on which she could retire in extremity, or else—but it is idle to speculate. It is certain only that on the one hand she was distinctly doing what as distinctly she said she was not doing; and on the other, that she was holding out hopes which, if she could help it, she never meant to fulfil.

Her assertions of innocence with respect to Scotland, Sir William Cecil found it necessary to endorse. He even took the initiative in complaining to the French ambassador of the charges against her. He assured Noailles that, so far from helping or encouraging the rebels, she had refused them assistance when they applied for it; and he insisted with an oath that nothing should be done on her part to endanger the friendship between the King of France and herself.² Each day made assertions like these more difficult; but each day they were repeated with louder emphasis.

The Earl of Arran was met at Berwick by an emissary

¹ De Quadra to Philip, November 15 *MSS Spancas*

² 'Voulant asseurer et jurer pour elle qu'elle ne produysoit jamais occasion à son escient qui

peult seulement altérer les amitez du Roy et d'elle' — Noailles to d'Oysel, October 12 *TEULET*, vol. I. p. 362.

from the Congregation; he was carried over the Border into Teviotdale by Sir James Crofts and Sadler; but the intended secrecy could not be maintained. Spies informed the Queen Regent, the Queen Regent wrote to Noailles, and Noailles spoke to Elizabeth. Elizabeth, in full possession of the circumstances—having herself given the order for Arran's reception by the English commander, and having received from him a detailed account of what had been done—replied at first by saying that it was impossible; and next, by assuring the French ambassador that she had required Sadler to confess on his allegiance whether he had or had not assisted the Earl of Arran, and that she had been informed that the story was untrue. Her confidence in the honour and good faith both of Sadler and Sir James Crofts was unbounded; and she was therefore satisfied that the Queen Regent had been deceived.¹

Meanwhile, the money which she had sent down, the personal exertions of Sadler, and the non-arrival of the French reinforcements, had again rallied the Congregation. The prospect of Church plunder counterbalanced among the hungry noblemen the promises of the Queen

¹ 'Lesquelz luy avoient respondu par lettres signées de leurs mains, qu'il n'estoit rien du tout de ce que la Reyne Regente luy en avoit fait dire et remonstrer, dont elle vouloit bien adjoûster tant de foy à ces personnes qu'elle m'osoit asseurer que ladite dame avoit esté mal advertie.'
—Noailles to the King of France, November 9. TEULET, vol. 1 p.

369, &c. Cecil sent to Throgmorton an account in cipher of Arran's return to Scotland, and as a blind in case his letter miscarried, he added conjectures in his ordinary hand as to whether the Earl of Arran was still on the Continent or not—Cecil to Throgmorton, October 1. *Conway MSS Rolls House.*

of Scots. Even Lord Erskine in Edinburgh, although he had threatened to fire on the Protestants, refused to admit d'Oysel's troops ; and Arran on his arrival found the reforming leaders in eager consultation at Stirling.

He had brought with him from London a fresh supply of money, which assisted in deciding the waverers. The whole body adjourned the next day to Hamilton Castle, where Arran's father signed their bonds ; and as heir-presumptive and guardian of Scottish liberty, he headed with his name the subscription to a petition to the Regent, requiring that the fortifications which the French had commenced at Leith should be discontinued.¹

Mary of Lorraine replied that she had as much right to build at Leith as the Duke at his house at Hamilton. The Lords, quickened into courage again by the support which Elizabeth denied so emphatically that she was giving, agreed to meet at Edinburgh on the 15th of October, when, if the Regent persisted in her present attitude, she was to be pronounced deposed.

The day came Chatelherault, Arran, Oct 15
Argyle, Glencarn, Ruthven, Lord James
Stuart, Boyd, Ochiltree—all those who had originally assembled at St Andrew's, with the greedy crowd which flocked where there was a chance of plunder—were again together. Erskine would not come down from his crag, but his guns were silent. The Regent fled from Holyrood into the lines of Leith, and the action

¹ Knox, Calderwood — Arran | CALIG B. 10, Balnavis to Cecil, to Cecil, September 25 *MS Cotton*, | *MS Ibid*

commenced Elizabeth had declared that she could not make open cause with them so long as they had no settled organization. After a brief discussion, Mary of Lorraine, having conspired against the liberties of Scotland by the introduction of foreign troops, was declared to have forfeited the regency, and the Government, till further orders, was vested in a council composed of Chatelherault and the young Protestant leaders.

The next step was to get possession of Leith, and to do it promptly—for d'Elbœuf's army might arrive any day, and they themselves would scatter as they were scattered before. For the moment they had 15,000 men, all more or less armed, and all accustomed to hand-to-hand fights but the Scots, like the old Spartans, 'could scale no walls;' of war as a science they were absolutely ignorant; while they had neither money to pay trained troops with, nor provisions to feed them. Conscious of their deficiency, the Scottish leaders had applied for a thousand men from the garrison at Berwick. 'It is free for your subjects,' wrote Knox, under the name of St Clair, to Crofts, 'to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages; and if ye fear that such excuses shall not prevail, ye may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye shall be assured that they be in our company'¹.

But the defences of Leith could not, it was thought, have been carried far in so short a time. To send

¹ St Clair to Sir James Crofts *Cotton MSS*, CALIG. B 10.

troops—under whatever pretext they might seem to go—was an open act, on which it was perilous to venture. So far Elizabeth was proceeding without the support—perhaps without the knowledge—of the majority of the council. Cecil himself ciphered and deciphered all despatches; and Sadler and Crofts at Berwick, and Throgmorton at Paris, seem alone to have been admitted into full possession of the secret.

Money, Cecil wrote in reply, they should ^{Nov 3} have; for want of money they should not ‘quail.’ Powder too might be conveyed to them from Berwick; and if the French sent more troops than the Scots could deal with, ‘they should be impeached.’ The rest the Scots must do themselves¹

Yet Elizabeth was at times restive under the false part which she had to play; and she was bringing herself to face the necessity of more decisive action. On the 3rd of November, the date of Cecil’s last letter, a tournament was held at Greenwich, in which Lord Robert and Lord Hunsdon held the lists against all comers. The French ambassador was in Elizabeth’s box. She asked him if there were news from Scotland. Noailles said his master was about to send an army thither to suppress the rebellion.

‘You do well,’ she replied with sudden sharpness—the truth bursting out. ‘Look you to your affairs, and I shall look to mine. Those armies and fleets of yours in Normandy are not meant for Scotland only; your

¹ Cecil to Sadler, November 3 *Sadler Papers*, vol. II.

troops already at Leith are a match for the Scots'

'Your Majesty's mistrust is without cause,' Noailles replied; 'the King my master means only well. I will take my oath upon it he will observe the treaties'

'It may be so,' she said; 'but I find it well to be prepared. In times of danger it is the custom of England to arm. If we are well prepared you will be the less tempted to meddle with us.'¹

She had acted before she spoke. Silently and swiftly she had refilled the empty treasury; the second payment of the subsidy had been anticipated. The revenues of the vacant bishoprics had been appropriated, the Protestants nominated to the sees being left to whine in expectation. The first-fruits had been demanded again; the lands given by Mary to the new abbeys were disposed of, or made otherwise available. Sir Thomas Gresham had emptied the shops of the Antwerp armourers, and sent over ship-loads of guns, corslets, and saltpetre. Twenty ships were lying in Gillingham Harbour, manned for sea, and ready to sail at a moment's notice. The Isle of Wight was garrisoned under the command of Edward Horsey the conspirator of Arundel's, and the young band of adventurers who had risked life and limb for Elizabeth in the bad times, were now, one way and another, engaged all in the public service—effective, brave, unscrupulous, ready by land and sea; ready to fight for England on shore, if needed there; ready to rove the seas at their own cost,

¹ Noailles to the King of France, November 9 TEULET, vol. i.

and sack the towns and plunder the gold ships of the enemies of the truth.

Lord Grey went down to the Border with 2000 men nominally to reinforce the Berwick garrison; but at first with large latitude of action, and an opportunity of recovering the laurels which he had lost at Guisnes. Amidst her 'practices' and diplomatic subtleties, the Queen had steadily prepared for the time when it might be necessary to cross the Border.

Unhappily, every post brought increasing evidence of the feebleness of the Scots, a feebleness too marked and extraordinary to be explained by mere incapacity. They had professed to expect that on the first menace the Regent would fly to Dunbar, and that the French would withdraw to their ships or to Inchkeith. But the Regent stayed quietly in Leith, and the French showed no signs of moving. An attempt scarcely deserving the name, was tried with scaling-ladders. The Edinburgh churches had been used as workshops to make them, and the Calvinists, shocked and disheartened by the sacrilege, were already beaten before the attack.

For a few days they waited in helpless expectation of impossibilities, and then another disaster happened—and a very serious one. An additional three thousand pounds which Elizabeth had sent down, had been committed to the charge of the Master of Ormeston to convey to Edinburgh. Intelligence of the treasure was carried to the Earl of Bothwell, who had a private feud with Ormeston; and snatching at the opportunity of doing service both to himself and to the Queen Regent, the

young Earl lay in wait in a wood, intercepted the convey, cut Ormeston down, and carried off the booty to Crichton Castle.

Arran and Lord James went from Edinburgh at day-break the next morning with four hundred horse, to recover it, but when they reached Crichton they found Bothwell had gone a quarter of an hour before, taking the money with him; while during their absence 1500 French made a sudden sally from Leith, carried off two cannon—all which the Scots had that was serviceable, cut their way into the Canongate, penetrated almost through the whole length of Edinburgh, and retired only when Erskine began to fire on them from the Castle

The Regent followed up the success by a renewed offer to observe the conditions agreed on in the summer. The lords, believing that she was temporizing only till d'Elbœuf's arrival, replied 'that they had found her so false and unnatural, that they would never trust her nor have to do with her nor France but by the sword.'¹ The sword however served them ill. Five days later a number of provision carts were going into Edinburgh. The French again sallied out from Leith to cut them off. A sharp action followed, in which the Scots were again defeated. Three hundred were killed, two hundred were taken prisoners, and the rest escaped destruction only through the devotion of Alexander Halyburton, who sacrificed himself and a few gallant men who stood by him to cover their retreat within the walls

¹ Intelligence from Scotland, November 10 *Scotch MSS Rolls House.*

A force held together by so loose a bond could not survive misfortune. In the universal panic every one cared only to shift for his own safety. The scene of the summer was re-enacted. One day the whole force of Scotland appeared united against a mere handful of foreigners; the next they were a rabble of fugitives. The Protestant leaders found themselves deserted as before, and almost alone. In a hurried council on the 7th of November, it was decided that they must again leave Edinburgh. William Maitland of Lethington—the younger Maitland as he was called, to distinguish him from the old laird—undertook to go to London to beg for larger assistance. The rest dispersed into their own countries, and the Regent returned to Holyrood once more absolutely victorious.

Notwithstanding all their talk about God, it had come to this. God had as much interest in them as they had themselves courage, energy, capacity, understanding, and perseverance—so much precisely, and not more. That either through want of will or through want of ability the Scots were unequal to what they had undertaken was now certain. If defeated in the open field by 3000 French, they would be absolutely powerless before 20,000.

The commission of the Marquis d'Elbœuf was already made out as lieutenant-general of Scotland and England. His arrival was daily looked for, 'to strike while the iron was hot;' ¹ and when Scotland was settled, an

¹ D'Oysel to Noailles, November 12. *TEULET*, vol. 1.

account could be demanded of Elizabeth. The money taken by Bothwell was damning proof against her. In vain Sadler and Crofts bade Randolph 'colour the matter,' telling him to say that the money was Ormeston's or their own¹ In vain, afterwards, Sadler and Cecil took the guilt and the responsibility upon themselves. 'You will tell the Queen what we have discovered,' wrote d'Oysel to Noailles: 'she will disavow it all, I suppose; but you will not on that account believe what she may say to you. Look her well in the face and she will blush however great be her assurance'²

Randolph, who had remained in Scotland with Artan, brought news to London of these combined disasters. A decisive resolution was now necessary, and at once Elizabeth submitted her position to the assembled council. Opinions were widely divided. Day after day they sat through the second week in November, and 'could not come to any perfect resolution'³ Randolph indeed was sent back to the Border with money to replace what Bothwell had taken. The 'Protestants were urged not to shrink from their enterprise, and were 'animated with assurances' of assistance in case of extremity; and there was a talk of sending the fleet into the North Sea, and of offering the command of the Border to the Duke of Norfolk—on the principle on

¹ Sadler and Crofts to Randolph, November 5 *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

² D'Oysel to Noailles, November 12 TEULET, vol. i.

³ The Council to Sadler and Crofts, November 14 *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

which his grandfather had been sent by Henry to Yorkshire, in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Catholics would be paralyzed, or at least embarrassed, by the presence of their own natural leader at the head of the royal army.¹

Norfolk, however, it was feared, would refuse to go. He spoke openly against interference. To him the marriage with the Archduke was the natural remedy. Lord Robert Dudley dared to tell him that whoever advised the Queen to marry a stranger was no good Englishman, high words passed; and Norfolk threatened to leave the Court and withdraw to Framlingham.²

In the midst of these discussions arrived Maitland and Henry Balnavis. They brought with them a brief letter from Arran, excusing the disaster at Edinburgh, and accrediting Maitland both as the representative of his party and of Arran's own private interest. Knox also had used the opportunity to send these few striking words to Cecil—'If you mind to join with us in the common cause, let not your support be so long delayed, as the enemy may plant himself among us; that, after his having opposed such as would here resist him, he may attempt greater things. To drive time with France may appear to some to be profitable unto you; but as before I have written, so yet I fear not again to affirm, that nothing hath been, is, nor shall be more hurtful to both, than that ye dissemble your favour towards us. The godly here are and shall be so oppressed, that after they cannot be able to serve. Friends do fail and fall

¹ *Scottish MSS. Rolls House* | del Obispo de Aquila, November

² 'Lo que contienen tres cartas | 13, 18, 27'—*MS. Simancas*.

back from the enterprise. The whole multitude—a few excepted—stand in such doubt they cannot tell to which party they shall incline.’¹

The Congregation proposed formally through Martland the union of the two Crowns. Sacrificing independence, throwing over once and for all Mary Stuart, France, and all their national traditions, they desired that Scotland and England should be merged in a common country, to be called henceforward ‘by the ancient name of Great Britain.’ Inviting Elizabeth to be their sovereign,² they had not even stipulated for her marriage with the Earl of Arran; although on both sides it must have been understood as a condition, when the terms of union should come to be arranged.

To accept such an offer or anything like it, would of course involve an immediate, open, and desperate war with France. Was England equal, single-handed, to such an encounter? what part would be taken by the Spaniards?

From Brussels Sir Thomas Chaloner had reported an ever-increasing ill-feeling towards Elizabeth. After a conversation with De Feria in August, Chaloner had written to warn her that next to God she had only her right hand to depend on. On the 10th of November, he bade Cecil tell her ‘so only to trust the Spaniards as

¹ Knox to Cecil, November 18
Scotch MSS. Rolls House

² ‘Ils ont pensé au différent qui pourroit sourdre sur la préférence des deux coronnes, et que, pour l’éviter on pourroit supprimer le

titre de l’une et de l’autre pour redonner à toutes deux ensemble le nom ancien de la Grande Bretagne’
—Mémoire baillé à M. de la Mothe,
December 20 TEULET, vol 1

first and best to 'trust herself.' 'He meant that she should arm and exercise her subjects.'¹

On Maitland's arrival, it became necessary to learn distinctly what the Spaniards were prepared to do. Elizabeth told De Quadra formally that she had been driven to take arms in self-defence. She instructed Chaloner to ask the Bishop of Arras whether in event of war she might look to Spain for assistance.

The Bishop of Arras admitted at once without reserve or hesitation² the designs of Mary Stuart on Elizabeth's crown. 'The Cardinal of Lorraine had claimed it in her name in a conversation with himself at Cambray:' and 'the preparations in France were all made with a view to this one object.'

'The King of Spain,' he said, 'had done his best in Elizabeth's interests. He had saved her life when her sister would have destroyed her, he had offered her his own hand in marriage; he had continued to advise her when he found himself rejected, but she had paid no attention to his opinions. She had done everything which he had most advised that she should not do, and now he had only to provide for his own safety as best he could.'

¹ 'So,' he added, 'I shall trust, in mine old days, to toast a crab by the fire'—Chaloner to Cecil, November 10 *Flanders MSS. Rolls House*. Sir Thomas Chaloner was an old friend of Charles the Fifth. He was with him in his disastrous expedition to Algiers. In the storm which

shattered the Spanish fleet he was knocked overboard, disabled, and was saved by a rope which he seized in his teeth.

² A letter from Arras himself to De Quadra, which is among the *Simancas MSS.*, confirms word for word the report of Sir T. Chaloner.

'Is it not strange,' Arras continued, 'that ye believe the world knoweth not your weakness? I demand what present store either of expert captains or good men of war ye have; what treasures; what other furniture of defence? Is there one fortress or hold in all England that is able one day to endure the breath of a cannon? Your men are hardy and valiant; but what discipline have they had these many years? and the art of war is now such that men be fain to learn anew at every two years' end. And if you had discipline, what should it avail when one draweth one way, another, another? Suppose you we know not? The most part of the counties removed from London are not of the Queen's religion. Are there not of your nobles, trow ye, that repine at her proceedings? We are not ignorant how certain of them conspired of late, misliking the too much favour borne to some one¹ Your weakness is well known; and when division reigneth, each will kill and betray others, to the ruin of the whole. The decree of the sequel perturbeth not to me.'

To the words of Arras, De Feria, with whom Chaloner afterwards dined, added a message to Elizabeth:—

'Commend me to your Queen,' the Count said; 'and bid her look to herself, and remember the Spanish proverb—'The cock may scrape in the dunghill till he uncovers the knife to cut his own throat' I mean not religion, or other such perilous attempts—but your wilful provoking of the war with France, to whom by sending

¹ Lord Robert Dudley.

money to Arran and the rebels you have given so just a colour and excuse to the world to break with you; as otherwise ye might well know they looked but for an opportunity.'

Chaloner, in obedience to orders from home, attempted feebly to lay the blame on Cecil.

'Tush!' De Feria said with a contemptuous laugh; 'we know the truth as well as you. What means your Queen? Is this a time to move war? Is Arran's persuasion worth such adventures? You will be torn in pieces, and other princes will fall out about your garments'¹

Words like these, though no answer to Elizabeth's questions, were of evil augury. The real opinion of the Spanish ministers on the situation will appear from a letter of Arras to Philip, written apparently on the day of his conversation with Chaloner:—

THE BISHOP OF ARRAS TO PHILIP II.

'If the French see signs of hesitation in us, they will at once set upon the English, and for our own sake we must take as much care of England as of the Low Countries. If therefore for their sakes we have to go to war again with France, we shall engage in the struggle on more favourable conditions if we first occupy England and restore religion there, than if we wait till this woman have destroyed herself and the French are in possession of the realm. While therefore I would

¹ Chaloner to Cecil, December 6 — *Flanders MSS. Rolls House* The Bishop of Arras to the Bishop of Aquila, December 15 — *MS. Simancas*

let France understand plainly that we mean to protect England, we must put a bit in the Queen's mouth; we must make her fear that she will find us on the side of her enemies, we must tell her in clear terms that we do not mean to run into trouble ourselves merely that she may play her vile tricks at her leisure; leaning, as she supposes, on the shoulders of your Majesty.'¹

With the storm thus gathering around them on all sides, the English council was called on to decide what the Queen should do. The situation in Scotland remained unaltered. On the 10th of December, fifteen French vessels passed Berwick on their way to Leith, where they landed stores and troops—raising the force there to four thousand. On the other hand, an attempt made by them on Edinburgh Castle failed. Erskine intimated to Lord James Stuart that with 2000*l* to feed and pay the garrison, he could hold out till the spring. The 2000*l* was provided by Sadler, and Erskine's charge was preserved. But the real difficulty was the evident lukewarmness of the Scots themselves. Much might be done short of accepting the full offer of Maitland. Money might be privately sent, even troops might go as volunteers, but so long as Elizabeth hesitated to take some open step, the mass of the Scottish nobles refused to commit themselves. To do a little was as dangerous as to do all, while it failed to attach the nation to an English policy—and might lead in the end to a hostile union of Scotland and France, with the con-

¹ The Bishop of Arras to Philip II, December 5 *MS Simancas*.

summation of the dreaded invasion. Thus the council sat from day to day and week to week, and could arrive at no conclusion. Two incidents of the discussion alone remain—one, a speech of the Lord Keeper, the other, a remonstrance of the Duke of Norfolk.

Cecil, the great adviser of the war, had failed to persuade into the approval of it even his own brother-in-law

‘With the country so poor,’ ‘the nobility exhausted,’ ‘the middle classes discontented,’ ‘the spirituality beggared,’ Bacon argued that a war with France was too dangerous to be risked. Plague and famine, he said, had so reduced the population in the few last years, that there were scarcely men enough left to till the ground; while to employ foreign mercenaries, as the Protector had done, was pernicious in itself, and impossible without more money than the Queen possessed. Allies in such a quarrel they could have none except the Scots, who were so feeble that they could not even encounter three thousand French. At home the people were unsettled, divided, and dangerous. Some were disaffected on account of the change of religion, some because they had lost the influence in the State which they had enjoyed under the late Queen; while every man, whatever his party, class, or creed, was opposed to war.

War turned industrious labourers into idle vagabonds, war crippled farmers, embarrassed landlords, ruined merchants; while in this particular instance, the cause was so doubtful and so peculiar, that the sol-

diers would never understand it, and néver fight for it heartily.

To join the Scots against the French was to help subjects in rebellion against their Sovereign. To break the public peace without provocation was a crime.

True, there were good answers to these objections—but they were not of a kind which soldiers could comprehend, they were not of a kind which the world would comprehend; while France was larger, more populous, and better prepared than England; the Pope would be at its back, and assistance from Spain was evidently not to be looked for.

All this might be granted—and yet it might be said there was no alternative. France was determined to insist on the pretensions of her Queen, and England must make a virtue of necessity. At present the French in Scotland were but few; if attacked at once by sea and land they could be expelled; if they were left to be reinforced, the Scots would forsake England, believing that England had forsaken them.

Bacon admitted the argument, but he preferred notwithstanding to trust to time. He would continue to send money; and with money the Scots could keep the field. England would not be meddled with till Scotland was first conquered—and how effectually Scotland could resist invasion had been proved by the experience of Edward the First. Edward struggled for thirty-four years, and failed at last. Flodden and Pinkie Cleugh had been great victories, but they had not advanced the conquest. Wales had resisted for generations. Ireland

was still unsubdued. The inhabitants of an invaded country fought for freedom, life, family—all that men held dear—and were unconquerable. At all events time would be gained. Money could be raised, factions quieted, the people made to understand the question. The French Queen might die; the House of Guise might be overthrown. The Queen of England might ‘match herself in marriage,’ and end the controversy so. Bacon therefore urged delay—delay for a year at least—unless opportunity should offer meanwhile for any notable success ‘by wind or wave, or chance of war, or otherwise.’¹

The same day, before or after Bacon’s speech, the Duke of Norfolk was offered the command of the army on the Border. De Quadra had foretold that he would refuse. He said shortly that he thought the war would be gratuitous, and declined to meddle with it. ‘The council’—Bedford, probably, and Cecil—said that if peace could be had otherwise, they would sue for it on their knees; but they saw no second road open to them. The Duke replied that he was sorry, but he must adhere to his own opinion. The Queen then sent for him. He supped with De Quadra in the evening, and gave him an account of the interview. The Queen, he said, had entreated him not to desert her in her danger. He had told her that he neither doubted that danger nor the French designs; but there was a safer and surer course both for her own interests and those of the realm: let her marry the Archduke Charles; and the King of

¹ Speech of Sir Nicholas Bacon before the Council, December 15, 1559—*Harleian MSS*, p. 398

Spain, who had befriended her before would not fail her in her present difficulties.¹

The Duke of Norfolk had but expressed what many others were feeling. The timidity of Bacon on one side, and Norfolk's refusal of the command on the other, gave an impulse to the reactionary party; and in the end a majority of the council advised the Queen to leave the Scots to their fate. The language in which they expressed themselves is as remarkable as the substance of their opinions; and other changes which they pressed upon Elizabeth implied that the Protestants were for the moment silenced and driven from the field.

They said that the assumption of the English arms by the French Queen, the preparations for war in Normandy, with the undoubted information which had reached them from many quarters, permitted them to feel no uncertainty as to the intentions of their enemies. 'The French Queen, as long as she lived, would pretermitt no occasion to advance her pretended title;' and when Scotland was subdued—which in their opinions would be easily done—the invasion of England would follow. France being 'established with a State military,' and England 'being ordered for peace,' the Queen could resist only with a chance of success on her own soil. If she met the enemy elsewhere, and failed to gain a victory, her danger 'would be too dreadful to think upon.'

The council therefore advised—

¹ De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, December 18: *MS Simancas*

First, that the Queen should before all things 'seek the honour of Almighty God,'^{Dec 20.} and seek it not by encouraging the reforming preachers, not by establishing 'the Gospel,' but by 'seeing the State ecclesiastical duly placed, and the care of all things thereto belonging remitted to the clergy, as in all her progenitors' time had been.'

Secondly, that the Queen should make an honourable marriage The Archduke obviously being the person whom she was desired to choose.

Thirdly, that her Majesty should send an ambassador to King Philip, not only to procure his friendship, but to understand what she might trust to

A single trace of the influence of the Reformers appears in a clause recommending her to seek the alliance of the Protestant Princes of Germany, to prevent the French from recruiting their armies there.

The last article, 'the foundation of all the rest,' was that she should raise a hundred thousand pounds by loan at Antwerp without delay¹

Though the hand in which these advices are written is Cecil's, they did not express Cecil's opinions. Cecil would pluck safety only from among the nettles of danger. The times were critical, and it was dangerous to speak the truth before the world, but in private at Sir Thomas Parry's house, in the presence only of Sir Abraham Cave and Sir Richard Sackville, Cecil 'durst say what was

¹ The paper is written throughout in Cecil's hand, and is endorsed by him 'Opinion of the Council, not allowed by the Queen's Majesty'—*Domestic MSS Elizabeth, Rolls House.*

fearful to be thought of, and what he would not speak commonly.' If the Queen waited to be attacked in the northern counties of England, and if she were to lose a battle there, as she might lose it, 'there were there hollow and discontented hearts which would find their time to break out, and yield to the title of France.'¹

Steadily Cecil clung to this conclusion, and true to the oath which he swore when admitted her Secretary, steadily urged it on Elizabeth, whose constitutional irresolution shifted to and fro under the alternate pressure. Her convictions went with Cecil, but the weight of advice on the other side far preponderated, and the responsibility of choice was terrible

Once, if not more than once, she gave way in earnest, determining to yield to the stream which she could no longer resist. And it was probably at the present crisis that Cecil, finding his influence gone, declined to act further in the matter, or to be the instrument of any policy but his own.²

But Elizabeth's braver nature rallied again. Her own nobler qualities, which danger raised to their due pre-

¹ Memoranda of words spoken in Sir Thomas Parry's house, December 28, 1559. In Cecil's hand—*MSS Domestic, Elizabeth, Rolls House*

² 'With a sorrowful heart and watery eyes, I, your poor servant and most lowly subject, and unworthy secretary, beseech your Majesty to pardon this my lowly suit. That considering the proceeding in

this matter for removing the French out of Scotland doth not content your Majesty, and that I cannot with my conscience give any contrary advice, I may, with your Majesty's favour and clemency, be spared to intermeddle therein'—Cecil to Queen Elizabeth (without date) *Lansdowne MSS*. Printed by Wright, vol. 1. p. 24

eminence—perhaps, too, the dread of her marriage, which was to be the condition of the King of Spain's assistance—brought her back to Cecil's views. The advice of the council was 'not allowed.' And once more she determined to go forward—forward, though still in the tortuous course in which alone it seemed as if she could move with comfort to herself.

Orders went to Gresham to borrow, not one, but two hundred thousand pounds. Guns, pistols, and powder-barrels were sent over faster than ever. In a fatal confidence that the defeat at Edinburgh would keep Scotland quiet till the spring, d'Elbœuf had lingered in France. If he crossed now it should be only over the wreck of the English fleet. Sir William Winter, the young admiral, sailed from Gillingham with fourteen well-appointed vessels. He was charged with a trifling convoy to Berwick, and his orders were to proceed thence into the Frith of Forth, and watch for the coming of the French squadron. If they attacked him he was to sink and destroy them. If they attempted to pass him he was 'to understand that the principal point of his service was to impeach the access of any more succour from France into Scotland, and to frustrate any departure thence towards France.' 'If therefore he found himself strong enough, and if there was a convenient opportunity, war or no war, attacked or not attacked, he might destroy any armed French vessels that he should fall in with.' 'He might provoke a quarrel if he did not find one. He might challenge the right of the French commanders to carry the English

arms, and tell them that as an Englishman he would not endure it. The French were a brave people, and he 'could not well fail of opportunity' He was to allow no French vessel whatever to pass in or out of the Forth; and if on board any that he might arrest he found powder or guns, he should seize them for his own use. One only condition he was strictly to observe—he was not to profess that he bore the Queen's commission. If challenged, 'he was to say that he was acting on his own responsibility.'¹

Were the admiral to lose an action, and be taken prisoner under such instructions, he would make himself liable to be hanged as a pirate. But Elizabeth expected these minor sacrifices from her subjects.

The moderate party, finding their opinion unaccepted, behaved like loyal subjects, and still hoping that the worst might be avoided, threw no difficulties in the Queen's way. The Bishop of Aquila learnt, to his mortification and surprise, that Norfolk consented after all, against his judgment, to command the army; while Elizabeth, though aware that she was committing herself to the course which the King of Spain most deprecated, seemed to face the consequences with much equanimity. Religious persecutions had commenced in the Netherlands; and Flemish Protestants with their families were taking refuge in multitudes in England.

¹ Commission to Sir William Winter, Master of the Ordnance, sent with fourteen ships, armed, to Scotland — *Domestic MSS, Rolls House* The commission was drawn on the 16th of December, but owing to the hesitation of the council, Winter did not sail till the end of the month.

When De Quadra remonstrated, she said they were all welcome—as many as chose to come to her; ‘if the Spanish troops in Flanders could be sent to toast themselves in their own Indies or Castile, religion would flourish there as well as in England; and the sooner they were gone the better.’

‘At this rate,’ De Quadra wrote, ‘she will revolutionize all the world. She is already practising in France, and her ‘Gospel’ is making too much progress there.’¹

Hints were given through the western counties that privateers who would ‘adventure’ at their own cost would not be closely inquired after; and thirty piratical vessels, heavily manned, were swiftly hovering about the Channel. That the sea and all that floated on it was English patrimony was the tacit belief of half the people who lived within sight of the salt water.

Two letters of De Quadra, written on the 27th of December, will add as much as can be known of Elizabeth’s humour, and of the views of the different parties, in England and out of it, on the approaching struggle.

DE QUADRA TO THE BISHOP OF ARRAS²

London, December 27

‘The Queen said to me that she understood the King of Spain refused to take arms in her defence.

‘I replied that his Majesty looked on the reopening

¹ De Quadra to de Feria, December. *MS. Simancas.*

² *MS. Simancas.*

of the war as a European calamity, which if possible he was bound to avoid. He trusted that her difficulties might be remedied more easily by her marriage with the Archduke Charles

‘Chaloner’s account of his conversation with you troubled her so much that she was ill for two days with it. The Duke of Norfolk begged me to harp incessantly on the marriage string. He said that Cecil had placed her in a position from which he feared it would be impossible to extricate her; and so he said that he had himself told Cecil. Since the war has been determined on, the Duke has been pointedly attentive to me. I tell him that the King my master will watch over the true interests of the Queen, but it will be with a strong hand, and in a fashion which she will not like. They think of sending Lord Paget to Spain. He will not go unless he take with him a commission to conclude the marriage—so at least he has assured me. Words are no longer of any use with the Queen—we must act. Preservative medicines are too late when the patient is down with the plague. The King our master cannot say that he has been left in ignorance of the state of things here. If he hesitate now it will cost him dear; and he will find himself compelled to protect a wicked woman in an unjust and ungodly cause. I do not mean that we may not interfere for her if she will consent to the marriage—we could then care effectively for the spiritual interests of the realm. But if she go on in her present career she deserves nothing at our hands. You would be astonished to know the

things which take place here, but the less they are spoken of the better : I will not write of them'

DE QUADRA TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

London, December 27

'This woman is possessed with a hundred thousand devils; and yet she pretends to me that she would like to be a nun, and live in a cell, and tell her beads from morning till night. If we do not determine what to do swiftly we shall repent of it. A certain person has informed me that if troops cross from the Netherlands to England, the most convenient place for them to land is Lynn, in Norfolk; there is a good harbour there, which can be easily fortified. Let his Majesty do what he will, he cannot save this true daughter of a wicked mother. And on my honour I believe those of her own religion will rise against her even sooner than the Catholics. For the love of God do not forget things here' never was there a fairer opportunity to set them straight.'¹

The King of Spain, during the war with France, had concentrated a large Spanish force in the Low Countries. On the return of peace the Estates, afraid of their liberties, had insisted that it should be withdrawn; and Philip, who had intended to maintain a standing army there for the preservation of 'order,' had been compelled after an angry altercation to give way

¹ *MS Simancas.*

Philip himself had sailed for Spain at the end of August, and was keeping his Christmas with the heretics at Seville and Valladolid. He had promised that the troops should follow as soon as means could be provided for transporting them; and since they could not remain in Flanders, what better destination could be found for them than England? Six thousand Spaniards thrown upon the Norfolk coast; all Catholic England rising to welcome them; and Elizabeth obliged to retrace her steps, restore the Catholic bishops, marry the Archduke, and live as a satellite of Philip—this was the scheme which filled the imagination of the Spanish ministers, and which faded away only when the Queen surprised friend and foe by rising triumphant over her difficulties by her own energy and skill.

In the midst of these grave matters, a little scene had taken place in Lambeth Chapel, which must not be entirely forgotten. To some persons it has appeared an event of great, and even transcendent moment—the readjustment of the ladder between earth and heaven by which alone Divine grace could descend on the inhabitants of these islands. To more secular minds it has seemed altogether secondary—a thing merely of this world—a convenient political arrangement.

A Catholic bishop holds his office by a tenure untouched by the accidents of time. Dynasties may change—nations may lose their liberties—the firm fabric of society itself may be swept away in the torrent of revolution—the Catholic prelate remains at his post; when he dies, another takes his place; and when

the waters sink again into their beds, the quiet figure is seen standing where it stood before—the person perhaps changed—the thing itself rooted like a rock on the adamantine basements of the world. The Anglican hierarchy, far unlike its rival, was a child of convulsion and compromise: it drew its life from Elizabeth's throne, and had Elizabeth fallen, it would have crumbled into sand. The Church of England was as a limb lopped off from the Catholic trunk; it was cut away from the stream by which its vascular system had been fed; and the life of it, as an independent and corporate existence, was gone for ever. But it had been taken up and grafted upon the State. If not what it had been, it could retain the form of what it had been—the form which made it respectable, without the power which made it dangerous. The image, in its outward aspect, could be made to correspond with the parent tree; and to sustain the illusion, it was necessary to provide bishops who could appear to have inherited their powers by the approved method, as successors of the apostles.

Three pairs of episcopal hands at least were required to communicate the stream. Five of Edward's hierarchy, English and Irish, had survived the Marian persecutions. The Bishop of Llandaff had apostatized. Out of these six, four were selected to supply in numbers the uncertainty of their qualifications; and, omitting Kitchen, whose character did not bear inspection, and Bale, who was a foul-mouthed ruffian; the others—Barlow, who had been Bishop of Bath; Scory, who had

been Bishop of Chichester; the venerable Miles Coverdale; and Hodgekins, late suffragan Bishop of Bedford—were summoned by royal letter to Lambeth, on the 17th of December, to consecrate Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury

The choice of Parker was in every way a fortunate one—unless indeed to the Archbishop himself, who accepted the charge with the utmost unwillingness, and in allowing it to be forced upon him felt that he was sacrificing his peace. It was not easy however—perhaps it was impossible—to find another man in England with at once character and ability for so dangerous a post. Parker's name alone redeems the first list of Elizabeth's bishops from insignificance. He had borne himself through the changes of the preceding years with consistent probity and moderation. When first ordained, he had been one of Anne Boleyn's chaplains; afterwards he was Master of Corpus at Cambridge, and Dean of Lincoln. On Edward's death he lost his preferments, and Mary, could she have discovered where he was, would have sent him to the stake. But he lived concealed with his wife, and his hiding-place was not betrayed till times had changed; and then Cecil laid hands on him as the one sensible man within his reach who was religious without being a fanatic, and a Christian without being a dogmatist.

The consecration was duly accomplished; the installation followed, there was an Archbishop of Canterbury once more. Rapidly one after the other the remaining sees were filled up; and the new order of

English bishops settled down to their work, shorn of much of their wealth, shorn of their privileges, but still peers of the realm, and with sufficient provision for the appearance which they were expected to maintain. The estates restored by Mary were reappropriated; their judicial powers were transferred to the courts of law; their first-fruits were converted into harquebusses and powder, but if their courts had continued to sit, and if the Queen's armouries had been left unprovided, their tenure of office would have been brief.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE TREATY OF LEITH.

1560
January

THE English fleet had sailed for the Forth ; the first step was taken ; but the irresolution was not ended, nor the distrust which the hesitation of the last fortnight had created in the Scots. They had been encouraged to rebel : English agents, under the special direction of Elizabeth, had ‘kindled the fire,’ yet the English council could gravely propose to leave them to their fate, and Elizabeth herself had scarcely resisted the temptation. In Edinburgh and London, in Brussels, Paris, Madrid, there was nothing but uncertainty, anxiety, and fear.

‘The Queen of England,’ the Duchess of Parma wrote to Philip, ‘is compromising all of us. She herself is nothing. If she be destroyed, she will but reap the fruit of her own rashness. But if the French once establish themselves in Scotland, England is theirs ; and with England they will have the Low Countries. In possession of both shores of the narrow seas, they will isolate us, and cut us off from support ; and when

we are overrun you must judge yourself how it will fare with Spain and the Indies.

‘And yet, if it be our political ruin to allow France to conquer England, it will be our spiritual ruin to allow that woman to go her own way. If she annex Scotland and establish the Protestant religion throughout the island, you know the humour of the Netherlands—you know the peril of the example’¹

Whether policy or orthodoxy would prove the stronger motive, neither England nor France could tell; and as little was Elizabeth able to comprehend the Scots. Matland told her that they were unanimous; but how different a unanimity was it from the fierce enthusiasm with which, age after age, they had combined against the invasion of the Southrons! When an Edward or a Henry sent their armies over the Border—the whole nation sprung to arms at the call of the fiery cross. Douglas and Gordon, Hamilton and Stuart, Highland chief and Lowland laird, buried their feuds in a greater hatred, and crowded to the war. Defeat could not break their spirit; bribes could not soil their patriotism; and had Flodden been followed by an attempt at conquest, it would have been soon avenged in a second Bannockburn.

How different was it now! Three thousand men had chased the Congregation from the field. They had scattered to their homes, earl, lord, and chieftain, threat-

¹ The text is an epitome of three letters from Margaret of Parma to Philip, written on the 7th and 21st of December, 1559, and the 6th of January, 1560—*MS Simancas*

ening to make terms with the Regent unless an English army would enter Scotland to rescue them. The English were their 'auld enemies;' the French were their traditional allies. What security had Elizabeth for their truth, except the assurance of a few inexperienced youths? How lightly might the temptation of giving a sovereign to England win back the rest to the schemes of the Guises and Mary Stuart!

Thus from hour to hour the Queen's humour shifted. She told Noailles she would not begin; but whoever would might fling the first stone¹ Throgmorton came over from Paris to hasten her decision; he was at first directed to return with a message to the King that England could not regard the Scottish nobility as rebels; and that for her own sake the Queen could not allow France to conquer them.² Sadler and Randolph received what they understood to be final instructions from London; and made arrangements with the Congregation to meet the English army in Cockburn Path, between Dunbar and Berwick, on the 10th of January.

But the orders were no sooner sent than they were repented of. Throgmorton was detained in London. The Duke of Norfolk, who, having consented to command, was disposed to act with vigour, was forbidden to advance. The Queen wrote to him on the day on which Throgmorton's commission—which amounted to a declaration of war—was dated, that certain respects obliged

¹ Noailles to D'Oysel, December 22 FORBES, vol 1

² Commission to Sir N Throg-

morton, December 30 Conway MSS

her to forbear for one or two months from moving further; the matter might be otherwise arranged; she was unwilling to spend money needlessly; and the levies might be suspended till further orders: the Duke and Sadler could ascertain from the Scots whether the assistance of the fleet would not be sufficient; whether, if supplied with English engineers, cannon, and powder, they could not do the rest of the work themselves,¹ while Winter, she insisted again and again, whatever he did, must do it as of his own accord, pleading no directions from herself.

Meanwhile the French—afraid of Spain, and alarmed for the troops in Scotland, should the English army cross the Border—had affected a desire to negotiate. M de la Marque was sent over to assure Elizabeth of the innocency of the intentions of the King and Queen; to insist that they had no object beyond the pacification of Scotland, and by every artifice of diplomacy to gain time.

Elizabeth received their advances with courtesy and almost cordiality. She expressed the greatest desire for a peaceful termination of the crisis; she declared distinctly to De la Marque, and she declared to Noailles—who watched her face while she spoke—that she did not mean to break the peace, and had no intention of interfering.² ‘Her acts are of one kind, her words are of

¹ The Queen to the Duke of Norfolk, December 30, 1559 | out of England, and reporteth that the Queen of England promised the contrary by her own mouth unto

² ‘La Marque museth not a little what moveth the Lords of the Congregation to hope for succour | Noailles and him.’—Randolph to Sadler, January 21 *Scottish MSS Rolls House*.

another,' said Noailles. He knew not what to think of her; yet, unable to disbelieve so positive an assurance, he wrote to the Queen Regent, to tell her that he believed she had nothing to fear from England;¹ and with this letter, and with the promise to himself, De la Marque set out on the 2nd of January for Scotland.

The fair weather did not continue. As soon as he was gone an altercation rose between Cecil and Noailles. The French ambassador accused Cecil of lighting a fire which would never be extinguished. Cecil answered that 'the French had lighted it, and were every day heaping it with fresh fuel to make the blaze the hotter.'²

De la Marque was scarcely over the Tweed, than he and his despatches fell into the hands of the insurgent Scots. In all likelihood his capture was his own work, for he was able to inform the Congregation of the words in which Elizabeth had disclaimed them. The letter of Noailles confirmed his story. Sadler at the same time was obliged to announce to them that the advance of the army was postponed indefinitely; there were still no signs of the fleet, and after so many changes they ceased to expect it; they believed themselves deliberately betrayed; and in a passion of fear and disappointment, Chatelherault wrote to Francis and Mary—to make his submission, to implore their pardon, and to offer to send Arran and his other children to France as hostages for his future behaviour.³

¹ Noailles to the Queen Dowager,
January 2 *Scottish MSS*

² Noailles to the King of France,
January 4 *TEULIER*, vol 1

³ 'Sire,—La fiance qu'il a pleu
à la Royne Regente me donner de
vostre bonté et clemence m'a faict
prendre la hardiesse de vous escrire

Taking courage from Elizabeth's uncertainty, d'Oysel had resumed the offensive. After another ineffectual attempt on Edinburgh Castle,¹ he had ventured to divide his force; and leaving Leith garrisoned, had marched on Christmas eve leisurely to Stirling, scattering the lords who were assembled there. Thence gathering increasing confidence, he passed down into Fife, the stronghold of the Protestants, intending to occupy St Andrew's and fortify it into a second Leith.

D'Elbœuf was daily and even hourly expected. He was to sail at latest at the end of December, and at any moment his transports might be looked for. Maitland wrote to Cecil, that 'delay was most dangerous;' he could not believe, he said, that the Queen, after what she had said to him, could have altered her mind.²

Norfolk, who had protested against the enterprise till Winter sailed, protested equally now against the weakness of affecting to withdraw from it. In reply to the Queen's order to delay the invasion, he said that the Protestants were powerless without the neutrals, and the neutrals would not move till they were assured of England. The Scots, he said, could not expel the French

pour vous supplier très humblement de me recevoir et les moyens en votre bonne grace, et vouloir oublier et pardonner les choses passées avec quelques articles dont je vous fais requête. Après avoir eu votre réponse si me le voulez mander j'enverrai mes enfans en France. De Glasgow, le 25 jour de Janvier, 1560. Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, James.—TEU-

LET, vol 1 p 206

¹ Lord Erskine refused to recognize any authority but Parliament. He would not admit within the walls either the Congregation or the French, and threatened to fire on Holyrood if he was attacked.—Randolph to Crofts and Sadler, December. *Scotch MSS*

² Maitland to Cecil, January 10 *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

unassisted: if the Queen tried their patience too far, she would make the Scots her enemies also. She had gone too far to recede, and it would be impolitic, dishonourable, and dangerous to disappoint now the hopes which she had raised.¹ Concealed assistance was impossible. If Winter lay in the Forth and prevented French vessels from going in or out, the world would never believe he was acting without instructions. For himself he thought it would be better if the Court would 'no more seek to hide that which on the Border was so manifest;' Leith, in the absence of the French, was unguarded and might easily be surprised; the only safety was in boldness.

Arran and Lord James Stuart had meanwhile made a stand at Kinghorn; but d'Oysel had defeated them with loss. Each day the little band of the Congregation grew thinner by desertion; and though they continued to hover in the field, the number of men with them diminished in a week from eight hundred to two hundred. The French commander pressed steadily forward along the shores of the Forth, with provision vessels and store ships attending his march; and Arran wrote piteously that although the Protestants would hold out as long as twenty horse could keep together, yet that the whole country was weary, discouraged, and desperate of help.

And yet Elizabeth never really meditated forsaking the Scots; she disliked only parting with money; she

¹ Norfolk to Cecil, January 24: *Burghley Papers*.

tried to persuade herself that the difficulty might be escaped in a less violent manner; and she was one of those people who insist on quarrelling with the course which notwithstanding they have resolved to follow, and who therefore halt and hesitate over each successive step which they are compelled to take.

'The Queen,' wrote De Quadra on the 15th of January, 'is the same as ever. Cecil, who is the heart of the business, alone possesses her confidence, and Cecil is obstinately bent on going forward with his Evangel till he destroy both it and himself. I have tried hard to gain him over, for we are the best of friends; but he is possessed with the chimerical notion of uniting Scotland and England under one creed and government; and I might as well talk to a deaf adder as try to move him

'If there be any other who knows the Queen's purpose, it is my Lord Robert, in whom it is easy to recognize the King that is to be; and either I am deceived and know nothing of the English people, or they will do something to set this crooked business straight. There is not a man who does not cry out on him and her with indignation.

'She tells me that the Scots expect her to marry the Earl of Arran as a condition of the union. She will as little marry Arran as she will marry the Archduke; she will marry none but the favoured Robert.'¹

Left to her own self-guidance, Elizabeth would scarcely have worked the ship out of the breakers. But

¹ De Quadra to De Ferns, and to the Bishop of Arras, January 15, 1560.
MS. Spanacas

Cecil was ever at her ear, and the invisible powers were on her side

A few days before Winter sailed d'Elbœuf had started from Dieppe. Had the weather been fair he would have been in Leith before the English fleet had cleared the Thames, and would have thrown a force into Scotland which would have changed the course of history

Northerly winds however delayed his heavy-laden transports, and with the new year they blew wilder and more wild. The English admiral was scarcely in the Channel than he was driven by a gale into Lowestoft Roads and was kept there for a fortnight motionless. D'Elbœuf less fortunate was caught at sea by the tempest. In all directions the storm must have blown: half the fleet was dashed in pieces on the Holland flats—sailors, troops, horses, all perishing. Some vessels foundered at sea and the drowned bodies were washed up upon the Norfolk coast. De Martigues, d'Elbœuf's colleague, after beating for days in the North Sea, found his way at last into Leith with a hundred men, d'Elbœuf's own vessel recovered Dieppe; but out of the entire fleet those two ships alone seemed to have survived.¹ In one fatal day and night the laborious preparations of the autumn were annihilated; and with France growing every day more agitated with religious passions, with the Prince of Condé and the Huguenots avowedly sym-

¹ 'La perdida de los naos del Marquis d'Elbœuf se entiende que ha sido muy grande por el gran numero de muertos que ha echado la mar á la costa de Norfolk.'—De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, January 21: *MS Simancas*. Compare Chaloner to Cecil, January 13 and January 15 *Flanders MSS. Rolls House*

pathizing with the Scotch reformers—months must now elapse before d'Oysel could hope to be relieved.

'The Spaniards at Brussels,' wrote Sir Thomas Chaloner, 'be sorry for the news. The loss is esteemed of no less moment than an overthrow by land. If hope might allow men to sit idle, we might suppose the French undertake this enterprise *dus malis*. Nevertheless let us provide as if every Frenchman were two; so the best will save itself and trust we none but God and ourselves.' 'For if I were God,' Chaloner continued in his peculiar way—'I would swear by myself that I believe our trust is in God's defence only, and by Him, in our foresight; so our professed enemies and faint friends instead of cartels of defiance will send us solemn letters of congratulation—Otherwise *væ victis!*'¹

All this while Winter had been riding out the gale. He had suffered little loss, save that most of his ships' boats were washed away; and when the weather moderated he pursued his way to the North. On Monday the 15th he was off Flamborough Head. The wind rose again and drove him back into the Humber; but ignorant of d'Elbœuf's fate and impatient of delay he again put to sea the following day. On Saturday morning he was off Berwick, where Norfolk sent out to him a few hundred 'hackbutters,' and after waiting two days there for the slow sailers in the fleet to rejoin him he passed on to the Frith of Forth.

And now let the reader imagine the storm over—a

¹ Chaloner to Cecil, January 15 *Flanders MSS. Rolls House.*

cloudless January morning, and the grey calm of the Forth lined at intervals with the faint ripple of an air just sufficient to give the vessels steering way. The young English admiral was drifting slowly with the tide along the coast of Fife, just outside Kinghorn. Beyond the point in front of him lay Burnt Island where the French had mounted a few guns. In the middle of the Channel was Inchkeith which they occupied in force. Close in under the Fife shore were two large armed vessels with a number of lighters, hoys, and barges. A boat with two men in it pushed out from a cove, and presently Robert Kirkaldy, Sir William's younger brother, with one of the Hamiltons, climbed up the side of Winter's ship and told him that d'Oysel with three thousand men had slept the night before in Dyssart. That morning they had burnt his brother's house; and having seen the ships in the offing, and supposing them to be d'Elbœuf's transports, they were then in full march towards St Andrew's. The vessels under the shore contained their military stores and provisions. The country people had carried off their corn and cattle, and d'Oysel drew his whole supplies from the sea. If the barges could be destroyed he would have to subsist his troops on water; while the two large ships contained a rich prize of cannon, powder, and pioneers' tools for the intended works at St Andrew's.

The admiral's resolution was immediately taken; he continued his languid advance till he had brought his ships under the guns at Burnt Island. He showed no colours. The French flag was flying on the fort; but

he did not condescend to salute it. The French commander sent off to know who he was; he gave no answer. A shot was sent across his bows; he paid no attention to it. His quiet insolence produced the effect which he desired. The next shot was fired into him: the French had commenced the attack and he was at liberty to defend himself.

In an instant every vessel which could be brought to bear replied with a broadside. The few guns on the island were silenced and dismounted, the fort was blown up; the two ships were seized and carried off, the transports and provision boats were driven ashore, where they were sacked and burnt by the people and d'Oysel discovered his mistake only to find the English admiral in command of the Forth, his communications cut off, his troops without food in the one county in Scotland where he was without a friend, and with no retreat open to him save by the tedious circuit over Stirling Bridge.

If the Scots had had a force in the field, if Elizabeth's changes had not disheartened and distracted them, d'Oysel at this time could have been destroyed or compelled to surrender. Not more than six hundred men remained in Leith, and Winter sent an express to Norfolk to say that if he and Grey would advance at once from Berwick with the troops already collected there, the work would be done.¹

The advance of Norfolk however would have committed Elizabeth to the sanction of what she had re-

¹ Winter to Norfolk, January 25 *Scotch MSS Rolls House*

solved beforehand to disavow. In the face of her instructions the Duke could not move; and indeed he might reasonably have expected that the Scots could now dispose of the business for themselves. Queen's Ferry was commanded by Winter. There was a bridge at Alloa, but William Kirkaldy promptly broke it: and so satisfied were the Congregation that d'Oysel could not escape, that they left him as they believed to starve, and proceeded at their utmost leisure to call their men about them to receive his surrender ¹

The French had now an opportunity of showing what disciplined troops could do in the face of tremendous difficulties. They were beyond the Leven when they discovered their situation. In their first consternation they rested for a night in the field ². In the morning, wet, chilled, and hungry, they commenced their rapid retreat. Not a loaf of bread could they hope to touch till they had crossed the water. The tempest broke again, and the western gale drove the rain into their faces as they struggled across those melancholy moors. On the evening of the third day they reached Alloa to find the bridge gone, and the river it is likely pouring down in a winter flood.

D'Oysel was a man of prompt expedients. In an

¹ Arran and Lord James to Sadler, January 26 *Sadler Papers*, vol. II.

² 'Suddenly comes Master Alexander Wood, and assured M. d'Oysel that thair were Inglissmen who were send for the support of the Congre-

gation Thair mycht have bein seine the ryveing of a bard, and mycht have been hard suche dyspyte as cruell men use to spew forth, quhile as God brydellis thair furie' — KNOX, *History of the Reformation*, LAING'S Edition, vol. II. p. 13.

instant the nearest parish church was unroofed; the timbers were dragged to the water-side, and laid across the piers of the broken arches. The army itself brought the news of its escape to Stirling—and once there, they were safe. The Congregation were loitering at Glasgow, congratulating themselves over a victory which they had allowed to slip through their hands. D'Oysel refreshed his famished but gallant little force, and fell back at his leisure into Leith.

Well might Elizabeth distrust the allies whose cause she had undertaken. Had an English army been so cut off, not a man of it would have come back to tell the tale.

Meanwhile the Queen Regent had sent a herald to Winter to know for what purpose or by whose order he was levying war in the dominions of the Queen of Scots.

‘My answer was,’ wrote Winter—false to truth, and true to his mistress—‘that I was sent to conduct divers ships loaded with ordnance and cannon to her Majesty’s fort of Berwick, and there being no sure anchorage there, I determined to seek the Forth, knowing no other but good peace between my said sovereign and all other princes: and as I was running into Leith Roads, the French forts at Inchkeith and Burnt Island shot at me, and I being therewith moved, and hearing the great cruelty which the French used against the Congregation of Scotland, I determined with myself to give all the aid I might to the Congregation, and to let the French from their wicked practices as far as I might; and that

hereof the Queen's Highness my mistress was nothing privy.'¹

The Duke of Norfolk supported this mendacious story. A despatch from Berwick was written to the Queen, accepting and repeating the written report, for the benefit of foreign ambassadors. Lord Dacre and Lord Westmoreland, who had not been admitted to the secret, gave their unsuspecting signatures—being even allowed to add conjectures of their own that the two ships taken had been intended to act against Ayemouth.² It pleased Elizabeth to seat herself in the midst of a web of illusions, and to expect her subjects to have as little scruple as herself in disavowing what it was inconvenient to confess. It may be doubted however whether falsehood so extremely transparent was of real service to her.

'Such a mask,' the Queen Regent wrote to Noailles, 'is too easy to strip off. As if it were likely or credible that a subject and an officer should have had the will, far less the power, of making war without the consent and against the orders of his sovereign. Speak openly to the Queen. Bid her remember how God avenges unjust dealings. If she persist in her disavowal, tell her to write me a letter which I can show. Let her prove plainly that she means to punish these breaches of the

¹ Winter to Norfolk. *Scotch MSS Roils House*.

² 'The which I was well contented withal for their better contentation; wishing, indeed, that the matter should rather burst out by

⁶ little and little than to make all here, with the suddenness of the things, in a hurly-burly'—Norfolk to Cecil, January 29: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i. pp 232, 233

peace—if indeed they have been ventured on without her knowledge’¹

It is hard to think that honesty would not have been as much more beneficial at the time, as it would have looked fairer on the page of history. Yet it must be remembered that France too all this time was affecting the most profound sincerity; that the King of Spain had said that he would take part against that power—which ever it was—that first openly broke the peace. If Philip dreaded the ascendancy of Protestantism, he dreaded equally a French conquest of Great Britain; and as long as war was not actually declared in the name of the English Government, he might perhaps regard Winter’s indirect hostility as no more than a legitimate act of defence, which tended to prolong the situation, and left the field open to mediation, or perhaps to armed interference. There are ‘practices’ in the game of politics which the historian in the name of morality is bound to condemn, which nevertheless in this false and confused world statesmen till the end of time will continue to repeat.

At all events there was now breathing time. The English fleet lay in Leith Roads. The ships’ boats watched the mouth of the harbour day and night.² The weather continued foul, the sailors were ill supplied with winter clothes; the service was ‘cruel,’ but the admiral was able to say that the Frenchmen, if asked their opinions, ‘would not deny but he had kept them waking.’

¹ The Queen Regent to Noailles, January 28. *TEULET*, vol. 1

² Winter to Norfolk, February 12, 1560. *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

Could the Scots have been as diligent on land, the garrison must have been soon straitened and eventually starved. They had before declared that they would not act without English assistance: the assistance had come; yet they seemed as unwilling or as helpless as before. A blockade by land was not so much as attempted. Recovering from his first alarm, d'Oysel reoccupied Edinburgh, the Castle only excepted; while Erskine gave the protection of its walls to the Regent and her train.

February Knox on the 6th of February flung in the teeth of Chatelherault that the English had been fifteen days in the Forth, 'and had never received comfort of any man, Lord James Stuart only excepted, more than they had lyen upon the coast of their mortal enemy' ¹ A little after, d'Oysel and de Martigues took the field again, wasted the country to the gates of Glasgow, and swept the corn and cattle which they could seize inside the walls of Leith.

Both France and England now turned to Spain. On the part of Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Chamberlain and Lord Montague were despatched on a special embassy to Madrid. Montague was selected as the one Catholic nobleman who had opposed every one of Elizabeth's reforming measures, and who therefore would be the most welcome to Philip; Chamberlain went as a check upon his companion, and—in Montague's own opinion

¹ *History of the Reformation*, vol ii p 41. This was an exaggeration, however. Winter said that he was well supplied by the Scots with wine, barrelled salmon, cod, and herring—Winter to Norfolk, February 12: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

—as a spy upon him. There was perhaps a secret reason for a choice from which so much danger was to be feared; the Queen may have desired that in the event of a rising of the Catholics their principal leader should be out of the way. He went unwillingly. Before his departure he attempted secretly to communicate with De Quadra, but sent a message to say that it was made impossible for him. De Quadra wrote to Philip that Montague would have something to tell him in secret which it would be to his advantage to hear.

The terms of the message with which the ambassadors were charged had been long discussed and often changed. The first drafts of it contained a list of complaints against the French, with a request for help under the treaties should England be invaded. In its ultimate form Elizabeth apologized for having despatched the fleet without Philip's consent. She undertook to 'reserve to her good brother's wisdom her further proceedings,' she promised 'to remit to him any advantage which God might give her to the detriment of France,' and was 'content to accept his Majesty as a judge in the quarrel;' 'trusting that his Majesty for honour, and zeal to common peace, would not refuse to take that office on him.'¹

The French were scarcely less submissive. In the general uncertainty the Guises had taken alarm at trifles.

¹ 'Notes of matter to be reported to the King of Spain, from Sir Thomas Chamberlain and Lord Montague, January, 1560' *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*

The Princess Elizabeth had gone to Spain to join her husband. So slight a matter as the inscription over the door of the house in which she was received at Guadalajara sufficed to rouse suspicion.¹ The Bishop of Limoges hastened to represent to the most Catholic King that the Queen of England was the enemy of the faith; that she had encouraged the Scotch rebellion only for the overthrow of the Church, that she was pursuing the same insidious policy in France with no less fatal success; and that his interest as a European sovereign and his obligations as a Christian prince alike forbade him to assist her.²

The dilemma was pressed home; but Philip imagined that he had discovered a possible escape from it. Alva replied to the representations of the Bishop of Limoges, that the Queen of England could not tolerate the presence of a large French force in Scotland. When the Bishop asked if a sovereign was not to put down an insurrection of her subjects,—Alva said that the French King and Queen had given Elizabeth just cause of suspicion; she could not be expected to hold her crown at their will and pleasure, nor could the King of Spain look on passively at an aggression which might next endanger himself. But Alva was ready with an alternative. A heretic rebellion was not to be passed over with

¹ 'Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum et domum Patris tui, et concupiscet Rex decorem tuum.'—Hearken, oh daughter, and consider, incline thine ear, forget also

thine own people and thy father's house, so shall the King have pleasure in thy beauty

² Intervention de l'Espagne
Negociation de l'Evesque de Lymoges
TILLET, vol. II

impunity; and what neither England nor Spain could allow the French to do, his master, in his high generosity, and in his zeal for God's honour, would do himself. The transports were lying ready in the Zealand harbours for the removal of the Spanish troops. If the King of France had really no ulterior object, his master's army would co-operate with d'Oysel. Elizabeth would have then no excuse for alarm. Her fleet she would be compelled to withdraw, and, safe under the Spanish flag, the French Government might send their reinforcements and supplies to Leith.¹

Most ingenious offer! which would give the Spaniards the footing on British soil which they so coveted, as a prelude to a Catholic rising. The jealousy of the French happily served to shield Elizabeth from Philip — as Philip's anxieties protected her from the Guises. The presence of the Spaniards, if fatal to the English Reformers, would have been no less disastrous to the pretensions of Mary Stuart. But the probability of such a movement had been considered in Elizabeth's cabinet. De Feria had distinctly told Sir Thomas Gresham that Philip would not allow her to separate Scotland from France.² She was securing herself in the only way in which security was to be found; and was arming to the teeth. "Guns and powder were shipped in such quan-

¹ Teulet, vol. ii.

² 'I do well remember the communication that the Count de Feria had with me long past, and that was — Doth the Queen of England think the King my master would suffer her

to win Scotland from his brother, the French King?' No, no, said he, they be abused'—Sir T. Gresham to Cecil, February 28, 1560. *Flinders MSS. Rolls House*

tities from the Low Countries, that the Zealand custom-house officers at length refused to let them pass, 'marvelling what the Queen's Majesty meant to arm herself in such sort' But the embargo could not be sustained, and Gresham on his own responsibility shipped a hundred thousand weight of copper—'wishing he was able to persuade the Queen to make out of hand thirty or forty cannon' 'What a terror that would be to the enemy to see them in good order, he referred to Cecil's judgment.'¹

In England all the world was mustering, drilling, and practising Elizabeth herself, on a Neapolitan courser, exercised every day with the train bands in St James's Park, and even De Quadra could not withhold his sarcastic admiration from her.²

A sharp watch was kept upon the Catholic embassies English subjects found attending mass at the Spanish or French chapels were threatened with arrest, and the menace was more than once carried into execution—not without disturbances at the doors The Queen, while she was severe, would have attempted to conciliate, and could she have had her own way, she would have restored the crucifixes in the parish churches, as she had already done in the Royal Chapel. She was encountered

¹ Sir T. Gresham to Cecil, January 27, 1560. *Flanders MSS. Rolls House*.

² 'Su Majestad sale cada dia al campo en un coursier de Napoli o ur-ginete à exercitarse por esta guerra,

sentada en un sillón destes que aquí se usan; que es muy buena cosa de ver. En fin aquí todo es armas y recogitos de guerra ahora.'—De Quadra to the Count de Feria, February 11 *MS Simancas*.

by an opposition too strong for her Cecil's policy was in the ascendant, yet there were signs of weakness in the ground under his feet: at any moment it might split open and swallow him in the same destruction which had engulfed Cromwell before him. Arundel reproached Clinton in the Queen's presence for the arrest of the Catholics, and Elizabeth herself could scarcely prevent them from coming to blows. 'Those,' Arundel exclaimed, 'who had advised the war with Scotland were traitors to their country!'¹

So the world drove forward—the horizon growing every moment darker. Yet the form in which the storm would break was still uncertain. After the news of d'Elbœuf's disaster, and the arrival of Winter in the Forth, the French offered to withdraw all their troops except four hundred, if Elizabeth would cease to interfere. In the middle of February, M de Stève came over to supersede Noailles, to amuse Elizabeth with a repetition of De la Marque's assurances, and to pretend that the assumption of the English arms and style by the Queen of Scots had been forced upon her by her father-in-law. But Throgmorton warned Cecil to agree to nothing short of complete evacuation. If four hundred men were left in Scotland they would be a nucleus which could be increased again at a more convenient time, and the French faction would be kept alive. The Guises—let them say what they pleased—had

¹ De Quadra to Philip, February 19 MS. *Swonson*.

relinquished no iota of their purposes; and if the present opportunity was passed over it might never return.¹

Elizabeth replied to De Sèvre that she could not believe in his explanation. The Queen of Scots, in her public deeds and private letters, still styled herself Queen of England. 'She would not suffer her estate to be thus neglected in the open sight of the world,' and as to the Scots whom the French called rebels, they seemed to her to be wise and natural subjects of their own Crown. If in the absence of their Sovereign they allowed the kingdom to be 'evicted out of the hands of their own nation,' and to be sacrificed to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, all Europe would cry shame on them. Even the Queen of Scots herself, if she outlived her husband, 'would have occasion to condemn them as cowards and unnatural subjects.'²

Meanwhile the English troops lay idle at Berwick, while Leith grew stronger and the Protestants weaker and more dispirited. If assistance was to be granted at all, prudence required a decisive step to be taken before it was prohibited by Spain. A conference therefore was arranged between Scotch and English commissioners to fix the terms on which the Queen would allow her troops to march; and on the 25th of February, Lord James Stuart, Lord Maxwell, Lord Ruthven, Young Maitland, and Henry Balnavis came to Berwick.

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, February 4, and February 16 FORBES, vol. 1

² 'Words to be said to the French Ambassador in the name of the Queen, February 17' *Cotton MSS CALIG B 10*

Elizabeth required to be satisfied how, if she expelled the French garrison from Leith, the Scots proposed to prevent them from returning at a future time. She could not be expected to keep a fleet in the Forth in perpetuity; and as France would probably declare war against her, she must know how far she might depend upon them if she was invaded. Further, she had to inquire whether they had any project for a durable alliance between the two realms of such a kind as would promise a final peace and dispense with the irritating necessity of the Border garrisons.

The last question, involving the delicate and doubtful arrangement of the Arran marriage, was allowed to stand over. After two days' discussion a formal agreement was concluded—signed on one side by the Scotch Lords, on the other by the Duke of Norfolk.

Elizabeth, in consideration of the attempt
to annex Scotland to the French Crown, for the Feb 27
preservation of its ancient liberties [*as a Christian realm in the profession of Christ's true religion*,¹] took that realm under her protection, together with the again penitent Duke of Chatelherault, and promised to assist the Duke and the nobility in driving out the foreign invaders.

The Scots on their side, and Elizabeth on hers, bound themselves to agree to no peace till both were

¹ The words in Italics appear in the draft of the agreement, which is found among Cecil's *Papers*, vol. 1 p. 253. They are absent from the version of it given by Knox, and also from that in Rymer's *Fœdera*. It is almost certain that the paragraph was struck through, to enable Elizabeth to rest her interference on political grounds only.

satisfied. The Scots—and this was one of the most serious features in the treaty—being the subjects of the French Queen, offered hostages for their fidelity to another sovereign. The English undertook to build no fortresses in Scotland unless the Lords desired them to do so. The Scots engaged to provide an army at their own expense to assist Elizabeth if the French retaliated by invading England

The agreement concluded with a declaration that nothing was intended by it in prejudice of the lawful authority of the Scottish Queen. The object was the defence of the constitutional and hereditary liberties of Scotland, and that only

Another step, it might have been thought a final one, had thus been taken. The 25th of March was fixed as the day on which the English army would cross the Border; the Lords returned to make their preparations to meet it, and Maitland went on to London to communicate in private with Elizabeth and Cecil

The arrangement was satisfactory on all points except the one which was of most grave moment. The Congregation confessed that the force which they could bring into the field would be but small. The people generally, if not hostile, were not with them; and the work, if done at all, would have to be done by the English alone—an intimation certain to strengthen the hands of the opponents of the war, who were still urging on Elizabeth the alternative of the marriage with the Archduke, and who dreaded the complications in which her connection with the French and Scotch revolu-

tionists threatened to involve her. The conditions of the Austrian alliance were still being canvassed. Elizabeth still from time to time professed a desire to see her suitor. Count Helfesteyn had come from Vienna with formal proposals from Ferdinand, and as yet had received no answer.

The position of this, with the other great questions of the hour, can be seen again with March
the help of De Quadra —

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II

London, March 7

'The French have offered to recall all their men from Scotland, except three or four hundred, on condition that England withdraws her fleet, and the insurgents submit and disperse. The arms and style question they will refer to a mixed commission of French and English, and if the decision is unfavourable they will abandon them. The Queen however says she will not compromise her right by referring it to any one, and Throgmorton tells her to believe nothing that they say. They are only watching their time to take her at a disadvantage, and she, I am confident, is determined to drive them from Scotland.

'The French are working hard to make a party here as well among the Catholics as the heretics; and the weakness of the Scotch insurgents disturbs the Queen; but she says she can take care of herself, and she is scraping up money, fitting out ships, and fortifying the coasts in all directions.

‘The French King professed surprise to Throgmorton that the Queen should be trying to make a religious revolution in France; and their ambassador here said the same to herself. It is reported that there are five or six gentlemen of note who can produce proofs against her. The expectation in London is that the Pope will declare her illegitimate, and will lay the kingdom under an interdict. She is afraid that your Majesty will then separate yourself from her, and therefore to me she has been affecting a desire to have a General Council. She pretends that she is not the friend of the new theology which I suppose her to be, with much more that would impose upon a person who did not know her. But it is all words.

‘Should any disaster befall her, I am told that the Catholics would choose for their King the son of the Countess of Lennox;¹ my informant is——,² so that the story has foundation. Both the boy and his parents are good Christians. The Queen professes to intend to nominate Hastings;³ but Hastings himself thinks the Tower his more likely destination. The Queen’s proceedings provoke so much complaint that I am only surprised she has kept her place so long. It will not be the fault of the French if something does not happen soon.

‘The French ambassador says that all this trouble has arisen in Scotland because his master and mistress

¹ Lord Darnley, now just fourteen

² The name is in cipher—perhaps Lord Paget

³ Afterwards Earl of Huntingdon

refuse to consent to the change of religion there The Queen declares that as far as she is concerned religion has nothing to do with it. Not a word has passed between herself and the Scots on the subject.

‘The Scotch party are making great efforts here The obstacle is the natural enmity between the two nations On the other hand, your Majesty’s name is held in general veneration The Queen and the heretics about the Court are exceptions ; but the people generally look to you as the first object of their desire I think it right that your Majesty should know this

‘The French ambassador tells me that if she will not come to terms with them, he believes that the Pope will be brought to declare against her; and he wishes to know what your Majesty will do in that event. I have evaded the question, saying merely that in just causes the princes of Spain have been never wanting in devotion to the Apostolic See. The Queen herself believes you will forsake her if the Pope venture such a step. It was but yesterday that she was talking over her situation with me , and coming to this point, she said that however things went on, though she might break, she would never bend ¹ She is straining every nerve; she has eight or ten additional ships ready for sea : and ——² thinks that the game is up here for the present; and if it were not for leaving his family he would be glad to go and serve your Majesty in Spain ³ Count Helfesteyn

¹ ‘Me díxó que como quera que fuese ella quera ser victa sed non supplex’

² Name again in cipher

³ ‘Me ha dicho que esto esta perdido á su parecer y que si no

is in good spirits about the prospect of his affair, and is all for the Archduke Charles coming over. Once here, he thinks the Archduke will find so many friends that she will be obliged to consent whether she like it or not¹ Nothing can be worse than to let her go on as she is going. The present difficulties are wholly due to the practices of the heretics. They have ruined religion in Scotland, and they will do yet worse in France, unless they are checked. Two thousand families of Flemish Protestants are established in England, and every renegade Spaniard is received with open arms. There will be small difficulty in remedying all this. the state of feeling here is so generally Catholic, and the Queen has so small a force at her command. Lord Montague and his companion are gone to your Majesty to invite you to renew the treaties, and to blind your eyes about religion and the Archduke. The real meaning is this: if the Queen and Cecil can expel the French from the island, and either by marriage or religion make a union of the realms, they think they can do without your Majesty. If they fail they would have a resource on which to fall back.

‘The Catholics cannot believe that you will make any fresh treaty without stipulating for the restoration

fuese por no dexar su casa quisiera irse a servir á V. M^a en España’

¹ Sir Thomas Gresham was most anxious for this marriage. ‘For my part,’ he wrote to Cecil, on the 27th. of January, ‘I pray God to bless her Majesty, and to strengthen her hands to it, for that all nations like and

hold with that marriage—both Protestant and Papist as they term them. They say that marriage will both augment her Majesty’s estate, and keep her Majesty and her realm in peace for ever’—*Flanders MSS R.’s House*

of religion ; and Lord Montague, in secret, hopes the same. Doctor Cole sent two days ago to tell me in the name of his party that if your Majesty deserts them they will apply to the French—they will apply to the Turks if necessary—sooner than not get the better of the heretics. Montague was not allowed to speak with me alone. He said that if it were not to kiss your Majesty's hands, and to give you information about England, he would have lost his head before he would have gone on a service for the Queen.

'The Catholics are jealously watched. The Court are uneasy about Shrewsbury and Northumberland.

'A few days ago the Queen despatched a noted heretic named Tremayne into Brittany, with a message to the Huguenots. I have just learnt that there is something going on there of extreme importance.'¹

DE QUADRA TO THE COUNT DE FERIA

London, March 7

'I have just been with the Queen. She has treated me like a dog.² The youth³ must have been complaining to her of a message which I sent him three days ago. I laughed it off, and asked her why she was so melancholy. She knows I suppose that her case is desperate unless

¹ *MS Simancas*—Endorsed in Philip's hand—'Mirad en lo descifrado una palabra que no esta descifrada y monsttrad luego á la mañana al Duque de Alva. que conviene le vea luego por lo que ha de hablar al

Embajador de Francia si no lo ya ha hecho hoy'

² 'La qual me ha tratado como á un perro'

³ Dudley

she makes terms with the French, and even if she does, I do not see that there is much hope for her.

‘You will see what I have written to the King, I have sent a copy of it to the Duchess of Parma. The Scotch rebels distract the Queen. Instead of growing stronger their numbers diminish daily, and the people here neither like to help such a set of wretches, nor can venture to desert them—knowing that they are lost if the French become masters of Scotland. They would make peace if they could tell how to make it with safety or with honour. And all this time the garrison at Leith are taking in the stores which they so much needed, and the neutrals are only waiting to see them fully provisioned to declare for France. Every rebel will then submit, the French King will offer a general pardon, and the Queen will have to shift for herself.

‘God knows how it will end—we shall soon see. The French ambassador seems to wish it to be understood that the Guises will not let themselves be deterred by fear of any one from insisting on their right, and carrying out their enterprise. He came one night to talk to me. He found the Council, he said, more reasonable than they had been of late—probably for the same reason that the Queen was so sad. He said he would lose his head if she did not marry the Archduke—necessity would compel her to it. The French King, he said, would be well enough satisfied, provided it is understood that if the Queen die without children the right goes to the Queen of Scots.

‘The sum of it all is, that if the King our master

neglects to interfere here much longer, England will be as completely French as Scotland is, and we shall then be driven to do what now we will not do. If his Majesty will act now, he will not only do God service, gain honour for himself and save everything, but he can have a king here of his own nomination—English or foreign as he pleases. It will cost him no more effort than it costs him now to keep this woman here—far less indeed—for he cannot trust her; and, she sits so insecurely on her throne that any day may witness her fall; while he may bind to him by obligations another person whom the English people may like better than they like this one.

‘I say nothing of religion, nothing of honour, nothing of the injuries which she has done to us. I leave out of sight the danger which the neighbourhood of these heretics causes in the Low Countries, that is too notorious to require mention. What I mean is that, unless his Majesty resolves quickly, there will come a day of convulsion and revolution, and either the kingdom will fall to the French, or we shall have to take up arms in the most ignominious and shameful cause which Christian prince ever sustained. That, and nothing else, it will be to maintain this woman against God, against right, against the wishes of all her subjects, Catholics and Protestants, and against the commonwealth of the whole Christian world.

‘Now is our time to do what we ought to do. If we are to throw our shield over such a business as this is—God have mercy on us!—such an opportunity as we

have now will never return; we have the good will of all parties—even of the heretics themselves.

‘Lord Robert is the worst young fellow I ever encountered. He is heartless, spiritless, treacherous, and false. There is not a man in England who does not cry out upon him as the Queen’s ruin.’¹

Happily for Elizabeth, England was not the only country in Europe which was troubled with religious differences, and the game of revolutionary intrigue was one which all parties could play, and which she could play unusually well. At the moment when in De Quadra’s eyes she was tottering to her fall, the conspiracy of Amboise broke over the heads of the Guises. How far Elizabeth had encouraged it was a question which she would have answered with proud facility. Throgmorton had been the very focus of the plot; and the Queen herself had been in close correspondence with Condé and the Colignys. It failed—as is well known—failed in its immediate object of destroying the Duke of Guise, and the scaffold, the rack, and the wheel, were the rewards of the Huguenots’ forlorn hope. But as the threads of the conspiracy were followed up, it was found to be no mere outbreak, as it was first supposed to be, of a few unsupported fanatics; but the first seed before a storm which was about to deluge France with blood. Whichever side they looked the Catholic leaders saw black gulfs of uncertainty and suspicion opening around them, and brave as he was, Guise was

¹ *MS S-manus*

appalled at the sudden peril in which he was standing
'They know not where to turn,' wrote Throgmorton.
'He that all trust to-day, to-morrow is least trusted.
You can imagine your advantage. Spend your money
now, and never in England was money better spent
than this will be. Use the time while you have it.'¹

A war with England in the face of internal dangers,
it was for the present essential to avoid. Montluc
Bishop of Valence—the same person who nine years
before had been in difficulties in the castle of the Irish
chieftain—hurried over to London, affecting a readiness
to agree to anything which could be demanded. Elizabeth
sent orders to Winter to suspend the blockade, and
to Norfolk to postpone for three days longer the entrance
of the army—to give the French an opportunity of
proving their sincerity by commencing the evacuation.

Montluc caught of course at the opportunity to sow
distrust again among the Scots. To the Scots he con-
trived to intimate that the Queen was aiming at a
separate peace. To her he represented the inaction of
the Scots as deliberate treachery, and De Sèvre pro-
duced the letter in which the unlucky Chatelherault
had made his submission to Francis and Mary.

Chatelherault however, putting a bold face upon his
cowardice, denied his handwriting. He offered to prove
his innocence on the body of De Sèvre, either in his own
person or with the sword of any one of a hundred

¹ Throgmorton to Cecil, March 15; Throgmorton to the Queen, March
21. FORBES, vol. 1.

Hamiltons.¹ He sent Randolph to assure Norfolk, 'upon his honour and faith to God, that there was no such thought in his head.' If the Queen still doubted him, 'he would put his eldest son in state of his lands, and yield himself into her Grace's hands to live and end his life where it should please her Highness to assign'²

Stuart, Arran, and Balnavis, while they admitted the alarm which had been created by the first postponement of the invasion, protested that they were never more resolute than at that moment. Norfolk himself thought it would be dangerous to delay beyond the time when the French promised to commence the evacuation of Leith; and Elizabeth told De Quadra that the Scots were so anxious for the union of the Crowns and for her own marriage with the Earl of Arran, that she had ceased to dread a change of purpose in them

Every post brought some new communication more or less disturbing. While feeling his way towards more decisive action, Philip wrote a hurried letter to Elizabeth, entreating and almost commanding her to take no further step. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were believed to be disloyal. Norfolk doubted Lord Dacre, and requested Cecil to have him removed from his office of Warden of the Marches, while it was uncertain how far Norfolk could be depended on himself, against the declared wishes of the King of Spain. A letter from the Cardinal of Lor-

¹ Chatelherault to De Sèvre, | dolph by the Duke of Chatelherault,
March 21 *Burghley Papers*, vol 1 | March 15 *Scotch MSS Rolls House*.

² Credit committed to Sir Ran-

rairie to the Queen Dowager fell into the hands of the Scots—which again raised doubts among them of Elizabeth's firmness.¹ And Elizabeth herself was as uneasy as ever at the prospect of war.

'She has but 8000 men,' wrote De Quadra, 'she cannot depend on the musters of the northern counties, where they are all Catholics; and the transport of troops from the south and west of England is difficult and expensive.'

'Randolph thinks so ill of the Scots themselves that he fears the English enterprise will fail, and regrets that it has been undertaken. The Queen suspects Norfolk, and repents of having given him the command of the expedition. Too many of the nobles look to him as their leader, and he is popular with the army.'

'Cecil says that the differences of religion forbid her marriage with the Archduke, and Paget tells me that so obstinate are both she and those about her in

¹ 'The King of Spain will help us against the Scots with as many vessels, men, and victuals as we will, and so hath written to the said Queen, so that it seemeth she repenteth to have gone so far in the matter. We think that your rebels will be far from their reckoning if they make their account of the said lady's protection, or else there is much dissimulation.'

The closing sentences of this letter mention the conspiracy of Amboise—

'Within these twelve or fifteen days there has been a conspiracy

to kill us both, and take the King, and give him masters and governors to bring him up in those wretched doctrines. Great numbers of persons assembled, not without the favour and comfort of some great ones. Except for the help of God, and intelligence which we have had from all parts of Christendom, and also of some of the conspirators that have disclosed it, the matter should have taken effect'—Translation of an intercepted letter of the Cardinal of Lorraine to the Queen Dowager, March. *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

their heresy, that to save the realm she will not consent to it

‘The general desire here is to have the son of Lady Margaret Lennox for King. Not only would all sides agree to choose him were the Queen to die without children, but the Catholic lords, if an opportunity offers, may declare for him at once; and at all events they will never again endure a female sovereign

‘Things are in a strange state. The Catholics look only to your Majesty. Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that which he at present holds. Every day he presumes more and more, and it is now said that he means to divorce his wife

‘Your Majesty may rely upon it they will make religion a pretext to keep the world in hot water. The heretic ministers cry from their pulpits that, having now a sovereign on their side, they will leave preaching, and take the sword as a more effective weapon with which to smite Antichrist’¹

There was heavy risk any way, yet on the whole it seemed less dangerous to advance than to retreat. The council, after the arrival of Philip’s letter, reconsidered the whole question, and concluded in an opinion which professed to be unanimous, that they had, as Norfolk said, gone too far to recede, and that they must now go forward at all hazards. ‘The Queen of Scots, her husband, and the House of Guise, were the mortal enemies of the Queen’s person,’ ‘so long as her Majesty and the

¹ De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, March 15, De Quadra to Philip, March 27. *MS Simancas*.

Queen of Scots were alive, they would never permit her Majesty to live in assured peace ' and unless the French were driven wholly out of Scotland, she and all those who defended her title would be in continual danger. The excuses, explanations and promises which the French had offered, the council 'disallowed, as false, foolish, and absurd, and not worth the hearing,' while the Guises' present difficulties were England's opportunity. The Scots if they were deserted after the engagement at Berwick would never more trust English promises. A French army would soon be reassembled, and when a general invasion was attempted on the northern Border—as without question it would be attempted—Elizabeth's advisers were obliged to say plainly 'they knew not how it should be repelled.' There was no real ground for suspecting the Scots of bad faith; they were ready to give hostages; and England could now obtain the object of its long desire in 'the assured and enduring alliance of the whole Scottish people' ¹

Once more for a time indecision was at an end. A paper of measures was sketched by ^{March 23} Cecil for the national defences, the first of which—characteristic of his simple piety—was 'to see the realm set in order with a clergy that the ire of God light not upon the people' ². Final orders to march were sent

¹ The Council to the Queen, March 23 *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*. It is noticeable that a passage in the Address, describing the Scots as 'professing the same religion' with the English, is struck

through with a pen as before. The handwriting is Cecil's.

² Memorial of matters to be considered, March 25 *Domestic MSS. Rolls House*.

down to Berwick. The Queen in a brief proclamation explained the motives which had caused the step which she was about to take. She was still at peace and still intended to remain at peace, both with France and Scotland; she desired her subjects to commit no act of hostility against the French nation by land or sea; her quarrel was with the House of Guise, who in the minority of the King had persuaded their niece to usurp her title, and intended to crush the liberties of Scotland as a prelude to an attack upon herself. She had demanded redress, but she was unable to obtain it, and she was now driven to use force to compel the withdrawal of the French troops from Scottish ground.¹

Monluc, should he be unable to prevent this decisive step from being taken, was instructed to go down to Scotland, and there, with bribes, entreaties, and threats of Spanish occupation, to work division among the Protestants; to gain time by an affectation of a wish to negotiate, and to direct d'Oysel to hold out till relief could reach him. As soon as he knew that the last orders were gone, Monluc hurried to Elizabeth to assure her that his Government would make larger concessions than any which had been yet proposed; if but a handful of troops might remain to save their honour, it would be enough. he said that he was empowered to arrange terms with the Regent, and he begged for a passport to go to her.

Catching at the thread of hope, Elizabeth sent him

¹ Royal Proclamation, March 2; *Bugbity Papers*, vol 1

forward to the Border. She wrote again to Norfolk to settle the matter if possible without bloodshed—‘ being content, if the Bishop spoke truly, to qualify her demand for an absolute evacuation.’ The army should advance ; and if force had to be used there should be no delay about it, but all other means should be tried first, and she added—not meaning it perhaps but only being in an ill-humour—that Winter’s fleet had remained long enough in the Forth ; and that she was about to recall him¹

The Queen could scarcely have been unaware that the siege of a fortified seaport town by a land army unsupported by a fleet was the most unpromising of all undertakings

Meantime the English had entered Scotland. Norfolk and Sadler remained with the reserve at Newcastle, on Thursday the 28th of March, Lord Grey, accompanied by Sir James Crofts, Lord Sciope, Sir Henry Percy, and Maitland, crossed the Tweed with 6000 foot and 2000 horse. Keeping the old sea road which eleven years before he had travelled with Somerset, Grey moved on by easy marches. The country people received him with seeming welcome. ‘Victuals’ were brought into the camp ‘as good and cheap as at Berwick’. There was a slight skirmish on Sunday with a party of French who were at Dunbar, but no one was killed ; and the General reported that night ‘that he had brought the army so far without loss of man, woman, child, horse, bag, or baggage.’

¹ The Queen to Norfolk, March 29 *Burghley Papers*, vol. 1.

On the 4th of April the Congregation
 April. joined him at Preston Pans. He was more annoyed than surprised to find that they had engaged their men for but twenty days' service; that of these twenty days, dating from the day originally fixed for the English to enter, twelve had already expired, and that in a week the Scottish contingent would be reduced to a few noblemen and their household servants

His heavy guns which were coming round by sea had not yet arrived, and while waiting for them he proposed to utilize the Scotch force by seizing Edinburgh Castle, where the Queen Regent had taken refuge with Erskine. She was not expecting to be attacked; he believed the enterprise an easy one; and he sent back to Norfolk for advice. As to Leith, it was a large place, he said, elaborately fortified, with a garrison of 4000 men in it. As he had nothing to depend upon except his own troops, he found that he would require a stronger force, and he must have money also; he had hardly enough for himself, and 'all the Lords wanted to borrow.'¹

The short supplies of money had been already made matter of remonstrance by Norfolk and Sadler. 'What,' wrote Sadler, 'is 20,000*l*, more or less, in comparison with the enterprise in hand, and the union of the realms? What dishonour if the army return *re infante*?' 'Send money,' Norfolk wrote, 'English troops will not fight if they are not fed; if they are not paid their wages they must live by plunder and make enemies of the country people.'²

¹ Grey to Norfolk, April 4 Scotch MSS Rolls House

² Sadler to Cecil, March 31 Sadler Papers, vol. 11 Norfolk to

Far different had been the humour of the Scots when Grey last stood on the slopes of Preston Pans. There was no haggling then over terms of service when 30,000 men had sprung to arms to drive back the Saxon invader. The Saxon had come now as an invited friend, and they stood by—cold, doubting, and suspicious—ready to accept the service which England might do for them, and that was all.

Norfolk durst not sanction the scheme for taking the Castle without the knowledge of Elizabeth. Elizabeth, to the disgust of Norfolk, who believed that Mary of Guise 'did more hurt than five hundred French,' forbade Grey to think of it¹. The English commander was painfully contemplating Leith, and comparing it with the force which he had brought with him, when to increase his perplexity the order reached him which Elizabeth had sent with Monluc—either to compose matters without force or bloodshed, or else to finish the work at once, 'for the navy could not be suffered to remain'. He had come as a soldier to recover the honour which he had lost at Guisnes. It seemed likely that he would fail a second time, and more fatally than the first.

'The matter is confused,' he said, 'to proceed in this manner with force and treaty, and if the navy go, it had better the army had never come to Scotland'².

His spirits revived slightly the next day. He had

Cecil, March 31 *Bughley Papers*,
vol 1

Scotch MSS Rolls House

² Grey to Norfolk, April 6 MS

¹ Norfolk to Cecil, April 19. Ibid

sent a herald from Preston Pans with a demand in form for the dismissal of the French garrison. He had received no answer, and he moved forward to Restalrig, a mile from Leith. The French horse came out and a skirmish had begun, when a tardy message came from the Castle intimating a desire to treat. Sir James Crofts and Sir George Howard went with a *safè-conduct* to the Regent, and Grey rode forward to stop the fighting; he was received however with a volley of musket balls. there was a cry of treachery, the English cavalry charged led by young Tremayne, who had come back from France for the campaign; and after a brilliant hand-to-hand fight the French were driven into Leith leaving a hundred of their number dead on the field.

Grey perhaps never prayed more heartily for any gift or grace than he prayed now that the blood drawn might end the talk of treaties. But his evil genius would not have it so. Sir George Howard had been a page of the old Duke of Guise and a playfellow in childhood of Mary of Lorraine, Crofts was secretly opposed to the war and half disloyal, the Regent, understanding perfectly that her business was to gain time, persuaded them that terms could be arranged; and Elizabeth's last orders seeming imperative, an ~~armistice~~ was agreed upon till Howard could go to London for instructions and return. The English army lay on their arms at Restalrig, and the question which had appeared at last to be coming to a clear issue was resumed into the dreary atmosphere of diplomacy.

The eight days of the Scots' services were wasted in absolute inaction, the English troops lying idle became dissolute and careless; the French Court was notoriously straining every nerve to equip a second expedition; while alarming reports were circulated among the Scots, that Philip's menaces had proved too strong for Elizabeth's courage. No sooner was Howard gone than Maitland—by far the most clear-sighted man in Scotland—thought it necessary to warn Cecil of the danger of an uncertain policy.

'The mark I do always shoot at,' Maitland wrote, 'is the union of these two kingdoms in perpetual friendship. There is no good in mine appearance to be wrought in this cause that doth not tend to that end. If we for fear of being destituted of your aid be enforced to any other appointment than this, in my opinion we be undone. Her Majesty hath proceeded too far if now anything make her Highness leave off. The treating doth stay a number of noblemen who were determined to join with us. I dare not write nor speak all I think in this case; but if the army should fail in the purpose they came for, or you should drive us to a doubtful appointment, I would wish her Majesty had not so far proceeded in it' ¹

In the same spirit and with equal vexation Norfolk wrote that 'for every pound her Majesty saved by her present proceedings she would by and by have to spend ten.' The work having been once undertaken must be

¹ Maitland to Cecil, April 9 and April 10. *Scotch MSS Rolls House*

gone through with, 'or the Lords of Scotland would be left as a prey to the enemy;' they would make the best peace they could for themselves, and 'in such sort as they with the French would needs become both enemies to England'¹

On arriving in London Sir George Howard found Elizabeth's humour changed again. The wish for a peaceful settlement had passed away, and she was ready to fight all Europe in the cause which she had undertaken.

Following up his letter Philip the Second detained the English ambassadors in Spain, while he despatched to London the Seigneur de Glasion, a Flemish nobleman and one of the Duchess of Parma's council, to communicate his final pleasure. De Glasion was instructed to inform Elizabeth that the King of Spain was astonished and pained at her proceedings; that if her troops had crossed the Border she must immediately recall them, and she must abstain for the future from any kind of intervention in Scotland; while he himself would send an army there to restore order and deprive her of all excuse for uneasiness. If she refused she would be left to her fate. If the French declared war against her, she must expect no support from him. He would perhaps feel it rather his duty to give open assistance to the Queen of Scots.²

Philip had contrived ingeniously to touch the chord which was certain to rouse Elizabeth to fury. To

¹ Norfolk to Cecil, April 10 MS Ibid

² Instructions to the Seigneur de Glasion, March 27 TEULET, vol 11

argument she was ready, often too ready, to listen; menace drove her at once into the course from which it was intended to deter her; while on the other hand, if Philip's language was peremptory, the hand with which it was written was far from firm, and the ambassador who brought it far from acquiescent in its import. The Flemish ministers cared much for England and little for orthodoxy; and jealous of their own liberties, they were scarcely more anxious to see England occupied by Spanish troops than to let it become a prey of French ambition.

'M. de Glasion,' writes Cecil in his diary, 'came and joined with the Bishop of Aquila to move a revocation of the army out of Scotland, but Glasion privately to my Lord Admiral and me the Secretary counselled us to the contrary.'

Glasion's private advice was but an illustration of the uncertainty, distrust, and treachery which was under-running European diplomacy. To the old worldly-wise practitioner Doctor Wotton, Philip's conduct appeared 'very strange.' The greatness of the House of Burgundy he thought had risen from the steady preference of its princes for the English alliance, and if the King of Spain now intended to surrender England to France, 'he showed marvellous want of wisdom and he bore England no good will.'¹ Philip's object however was not to help France, but to outwit both France and

¹ 'By likelihood, King Philip ready to pick this quarrel with us' would be ready enough to maintain a good cause against us, that is so | —Wotton to Cecil, April, 1560. *MSS. Rolls House.*

England; and France saw through his schemes, and on his own terms had no intention of accepting his assistance. Philip himself was haunted with the dread that when he had struck in and declared himself, the old Liberal party in France would recover their power and join England and the Reformation; while De Glasion warned De Quadra in secret 'that the Low Countries would in no wise endure a quarrel with England.'

'M de Glasion is so suspicious of the French,' the Bishop said, 'that any excuse from these people seems to satisfy him, although he knows their bad hearts and corrupt intentions, and understands the dangers to which those provinces are exposed so long as this woman remains Queen' ¹

De Sévre, in a conversation with De Glasion and De Quadra, admitted that the French King and Queen had really intended to strike for the English Crown, that a plan had been formed to throw 12,000 men on the coast or across the Border; and although he pretended that the scheme had been abandoned, Philip's ministers concluded that it was only postponed, that the French would not listen to Spanish mediation, and that the presence of a Spanish force in Scotland would be utterly unwelcome. ²

¹ De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras, April 13 *MS Simancas*

² 'Ce qui nous fait amsy juger, veu qu'ilz ne nous monstrent avoir volonté d'eulx ayder de l'assistance et faveur que sa Majesté leur a présenté, ny de nostre offre plusieurs

fois à eulx fait, d'estre moyenneurs pour les accorder, demonstrent assez le dict de Sévre qu'il n'estime guères nostre intervention et qu'elle luy est peu agréable, de sorte que ny l'ung ny l'autre des dictes parties ne feront rien par nostre moyen, dont il fait

Elizabeth knew what the French felt, and gathered confidence from their embarrassment. She told De Glasion in his first interview that she 'regarded the Scotch insurgents as the best friends to their country.' She was convinced that whatever might be Philip's wishes he would be forced to leave his menaces unexecuted; that he was not the man to venture on those bold strokes of policy which are either ruinous or splendid successes.

It was still possible however that Alva and De Feria might overbear their master's timidity. The attempt might be made though it seemed unlikely, and it was necessary to resolve what to do. If a Spanish fleet should appear after all in the Forth, were the English to oppose the landing of Philip's troops? Cecil consulted Wotton, and Wotton showed by his reply that he felt the reality of the peril.

If the Spaniards were once on shore in Scotland,' he said, 'the neutral Scots, already cold, would forsake England wholly,' and the cause of the Reformers would be lost.

If they came at all they would come 5000 or 6000 strong. If the English fleet attacked them it would probably be defeated, the army without the fleet would be lost, 'and what would ensue from that was easy to be considered.' Supposing the fleet victorious, 'it

a douter que les affaires se conduiront de sorte que sa Majesté se pourroit cy après trouver bien empeschée pour les remédier, ou du moins qu'ils	s'accorderont sans nous'—M. de Glasion et l'Evesque de Aquila à la Duchesse de Parma, April 27. TETLET, vol II p 113, &c
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would not be without great bloodshed on both sides, the Spaniard being a brave and superb soldier.' 'King Philip in anger and despite would declare open war, whereunto he would lack no council in Spain,' and with England already inclined to mutiny, 'the danger seemed so great that it was little wisdom to counsel the Queen's Highness to attempt it if by any other tolerable means it might be avoided'¹

Yet from private conversations and public discussions the improbability of any such step being taken by Philip became more and more apparent. Cecil threw in the 'Calais question,' which was certain to divide further the Flemings from the Spaniards. He suggested next that a joint commission of the three nations should be chosen to treat with the Scots. Forty days at least would be required to obtain the necessary powers for the commissioners; and in the mean time the siege of Leith could be continued and probably finished. De Glasion played up into the hands of the English ministers, and De Quadra poured himself out in distraction to Arras

'Be assured that the one object of these people—I have always warned you of it—is to embroil us with the French. I pray God that they may not succeed, and that their plot may not cause the destruction of the little that remains of Christendom. The French are growing angry and desperate. It is unlikely that they can come to terms with England; yet I do my best to avoid irri-

¹ Minute endorsed by Cecil to Doctor Wotton, touching the Scots, April, 1560. *MS. Rolls House.*

tating them. This Queen has forty ships at sea well armed. The French fleet is getting ready, and should it unite with the English, Flanders is poorly defended. The farther this business goes the more difficulties multiply.’¹

With the assistance of these glimpses into the inner minds of men, the formal answer of the English Government to De Glasion becomes intelligible. Elizabeth’s ministers had made up their minds to dare Philip to do his worst—being satisfied that the worst would be nothing very terrible—and the ambassador was invited to receive their final resolution.

Refusing to perceive the hostile tone of Philip’s message, the council said they were satisfied that he had been actuated by the kindest intentions, but that he was misinformed on the facts of the case. The French were aiming at England more than at Scotland, and at Elizabeth’s crown rather than at the maintenance of the Queen of Scots’ authority in her own country. England could not wish that Spanish troops should interfere; the Queen of Scots required no foreign assistance to make her people loyal and obedient; they desired nothing beyond the mere observance of the laws of their country. King Philip’s army, if transported thither, could not always remain. When it was withdrawn, the French would come back, and the difficulties would recommence. If England was to be secure, England must expel them; and the King of Spain’s desire for the re-

¹ De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras, April 13: *MS Simancas*.

call of Winter and Lord Grey could not and might not be complied with.’¹

Glasion accepted the reply which he had possibly assisted to frame; and De Quadra—distrusting both England and France and in turn by both distrusted, distrusting his colleague to whom he dared not communicate the views which he had urged on his master—was compelled to content himself with verbal protests. Monluc, who had been detained at Berwick out of respect to the remonstrances of the Scots, was allowed to go forward to the Queen Regent and do what he could to make peace, but meanwhile orders went down to press the siege

De Sèvre had no commission to declare war; the French Government durst not venture it. He was instructed only if nothing could be done to protest to the Queen against the injustice of her proceedings; and he desired De Quadra and De Glasion to accompany him to her presence and witness the delivery of the message. The ministers of Philip might not countenance France without their master’s leave—De Sèvre went alone—and Elizabeth, who was in one of her violent humours, threw off the last affectation of concealment. Once more the weary ground of the Queen of Scots’ misdoings was trodden over; then bursting out, she said,—

‘ You complain of the fleet and army which we have sent to Scotland. What were we to do ? Have we forgotten, think you, your treachery at Ambletue, when

¹ Reply to M de Glasion FORBES, vol 1

our brother was King? You challenge our crown; you deny our right to be Queen. You snatch the pretext of a rebellion to collect your armies on our Border; and you expect us to sit still like children. You complain that we sent our fleet to intercept your reinforcements. It is true we did so; and the fleet has done its work; and what then?

‘Those cannon, those arms, those stores, which you sent to Leith were not meant only or chiefly for Scotland; they were meant for us. You tell us we are maintaining your rebels—we hate rebels; but the Scots are none. These men whom you call rebels are the same who fought against England at Pinkie Cleugh. It is you who are in fault—you who stole the rule of their country from them, overthrew their laws, and sought to govern them with foreign garrisons. You have seized their fortresses, you have corrupted their money, you have filled their offices of trust with greedy Frenchmen, to rob and pillage them: and they endured all this till they saw their sovereign the childless queen of a foreign prince—herself an absentee—and their country, should she die, about to become a province of France.

‘With these facts before us we are not to be blinded with specious words. We know what was intended for ourselves—some of your own statesmen have given us warning of it. Your Queen claims our crown; and you think that we shall be satisfied with words. You say you recalled d’Elbœuf. The winds and the waves recalled him, and our fleet in the Forth frightened him from a second trial. You have given us promises un-

promises ; yet our style is still filched from us and your garrisons are still in Leith. We have forborne long enough. We mean nothing against your mistress's lawful rights : but events must now take their course '¹

Brave words, could they have been resolutely acted out ; but it was a hard matter to carry on a war without declaring war, and to step out boldly in so dense a diplomatic mist.

Still however Spanish interference was declined, menace or no menace ; and Philip was left to seek his remedy where he could find it '²

The siege of Leith was immediately to be pressed ; and the complete departure of the French was again demanded, with the deposition of Mary of Lorraine from the Government, and the transfer of the regency to Chatelherault and a Council of the Lords Cecil warned Lord Grey to beware of 'French enchantments,' and

¹ 'Responsum ad Protestationem quam Orator Regis Galliarum, nomine sui Principis Serenissimæ Angliæ Reginæ obtulit, April 15, 1560' —TEULET, vol II p 21, &c The reply is very long, and I have condensed it much in the translation

² To the delight of the English Protestants, who could not praise Cecil's firmness sufficiently The most influential advocates of a Spanish policy were Lord Paget and Sir John Mason 'The object of this letter,' wrote Lord John Grey to Cecil, 'is to make you understand the good opinions which godly Protestants have conceived of you in

your stout and wise standing for the maintenance of God's cause, the defence of your country, and the surety of your sovereign God confound all Pagetyan devices with Mason and all his fellows Such arch-practicians against God and their country were never bred in any country, and be you well assured, cousin Cecil, that neither the Queen's Majesty, you, nor never an honest-minded man in England shall have his head on his shoulders if these practices may take place'—Lord John Grey to Cecil, April, 1560. *Domestic MSS Rolls House.*

commended him to his work. Elizabeth desired Norfolk to pacify the Scots and assure them that she had never thought of making separate terms for herself.

Unfortunately the contradictions in the Queen's language—her deliberate deceptions at one time—her indeliberate changes of purpose at another—had produced so deep a distrust in the Scots that until they saw Leith actually attacked they would not believe her. They were afraid—and perhaps justly—that if she could wrest from Mary Stuart a recognition of her own rights, she would not insist on the points which to them were of vital moment, and the permission to Monluc to go to Edinburgh neutralized the effect of the seeming firmness of her resolution. Matland wrote to Cecil that the 'very talk' of a treaty paralyzed the energy of the people. He 'feared more deceit by treaty than the worst that could otherwise fall out;' and, so long as peace continued to be spoken of, the Scotch nobles would continue to believe that the Queen intended to betray them.¹ Even in the English army itself, there were men who considered they could best please Elizabeth by inaction—who were jealous of the Scots, or opposed to the policy of supporting them. Sir James Crofts, who was afterwards found 'to have gone as near the edge of treason as a man might do without falling into it,' wrote that the Congregation were careless of England; that they would play Elizabeth false unless she would promise to marry the Earl of Arran, and that if she

¹ Matland to Cecil, April 17. *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

was prudent she would shift for herself¹ The Duke of Norfolk forwarded Crofts' letter to London, with a copy of his own answer;² and entreated Cecil to procure a direct 'forbidding of the treaty,' and an immediate order to assault Leith It was not so hard to win: 'Winter's sailors had said that if they might have the spoil, they would enter it or die there for.'³

It was time for something to be done. The inactivity among the leaders had already produced dangerous carelessness among the English troops The French force was divided. A hundred and sixty men with seventy women and boys were in Inchkeith, cut off by Winter's fleet from the mainland. They had nothing to eat but the fish which they could catch from the rocks, and the oysters and periwinkles which they gathered at low water; and as famine would soon compel them to

¹ Crofts to Norfolk, April 26 - *Scotch MSS Rolls House*.

² 'As you, Mr Crofts, have written unto me your mind concerning your treaty, so will I requite you with the like, being of a quite contrary opinion unto you, for whereas by your letter it doth appear that you think the treaty most convenable to us, for my part I think it most to be eschewed, for we may hope for no long amity if either the Scots suffer the Queen Dowager to be Regent, or else to have any number of French in any one fort there I cannot induce myself to think but that the French, if they have once footing in Scotland, will soon have

out of France as many as they list, when we neither shall nor dare help The matter with delaying cannot amend We shall never have the French at such advantage again

'Therefore, good Mr Crofts, hasten your business, which shall be far more honourable and surer for the Queen's Majesty and both the realms, and banish yourselves out of that cursed deanery of Restalrig, which keeps you so long from coming into the camp Let not Matigues brag and say the Queen's army is come to besiege Restalrig' — Norfolk to Crofts, April, 1560: *MS Ibid*

³ Norfolk to Cecil *MS Ibid*

surrender, the admiral would not squander valuable life in assaulting them. Another detached company in Blackness capitulated on Easter Sunday the 14th of April. A few hundreds were isolated in Dunbar. The main body, French and French Scots, amounting together to 4000 men, with d'Oysel himself, Labross, and de Martigues, were shut up within the lines of Leith. Though blockaded effectually by sea, they had gathered provisions which were calculated variously as likely to last till June, July, or August, and by July at latest Monluc had promised them relief.

The fortifications were a mile in extent, and were drawn according to the best engineering science of the day. There was an ample supply of heavy guns, collected gradually with a view to the campaign in England, and there were other military stores in abundance, intended for the army which d'Elbœuf had failed to bring over. The French part of the garrison were choice troops who had been seasoned in the Italian wars.

The English army lay in what Norfolk called 'the accursed deanery of Restalrig,' under Arthur's Seat, and with Leith at a mile's distance immediately below them. The siege guns were mounted as they arrived; and shots at long range were exchanged from day to day. But in general, a spirit of languor had taken possession of the scene. The English soldiers believed that they had been sent to Scotland rather as a menace than for work. There was little discipline among them, they lounged about unarmed in the streets of Edinburgh, they passed their time over dice and cards, 'calling upon God

with nothing but swearing '¹ The very neighbourhood of an enemy seemed to have been forgotten—so entirely were the commonest precautions neglected. A rough lesson brought them to a recollection of their position. On the 14th of April a party of French disguised as women entered the English works, and walked over them and round them; they killed a sentinel who had perhaps discovered them, and carried off his head as an ornament to a pinnacle of Leith church. The next day the garrison poured out in a swarm, cut up the pioneers in the trenches, spiked the cannon, and took Sir Maurice Berkeley—who was the first to come to the rescue—prisoner. Arthur Grey, Captain Vaughan, and others, each as they could collect their companies, rushed to the front in time to save the guns; but the French would not retreat till half the English army was brought into the field. 'It was one of the hottest skirmishes ever seen.' Arthur Grey, who in his haste had not taken time to put on his corselet, was shot through the shoulder; Sir Bryan Fitzwilliam was badly wounded; and the English themselves admitted a loss of a hundred and sixty men.

'I hope,' wrote Norfolk, in his report of the affair, 'that this will be a lesson to them that have the charge there to keep their men out of Edinburgh'

Close on this surprise followed letters from Elizabeth, ordering the more active prosecution of the siege, the discovery of Monluc's double-dealing had brought the

¹ Norfolk to Cecil, May 15; *Scotch MSS Rolls House*

talk of negotiation at last to an end. Monluc had told Elizabeth that it was England which he desired to satisfy. In Scotland, his only effort had been to work on the distrust of the Scots. The Queen Regent in concert with him offered the lords all that they could desire; she promised to send away the French; she would guarantee them liberty of conscience; she herself would soon cease to be an obstacle—confinement and anxiety had done their work upon her—she was sickening of the dropsy, and her days in this world she well knew were numbered; the regency therefore would present no difficulty; but she insisted that they should abandon the English alliance; the Queen of Scots could not suffer her subjects to be in league with a foreign power.

It was to the credit of the Scots that they refused these overtures. Chatelherault, Maitland, and Lord James Stuart, at the close of a long conference, consented only to refer the alliance to the Parliament. The Bishop's temptation failed. He withdrew to Berwick; and the knot was then so hard drawn that it could be cut only by the sword.¹

At last therefore Lord Grey was free to exert him-

¹ 'The Bishop is gone. The parley broke up on the Article of the League with England, for that they would not revoke their hostages. They would have put the matter to the Parliament. They are gone so far they cannot go out of it, whereof I will make my profit and will not fail to publish it. I am still

lame, and have a leg that assuageth not from swelling. If any lay his finger upon it, it goeth in as into butter; you know there are but three days for the dropsy in this country'—Intercepted Letter from the Queen Dowager to d'Oysel, April, 1560 *MS Rolls House*.

self. The treaty which had lain upon his energies like lead was at an end.

On Tuesday the 16th of April 3000 additional troops under Sir Ralph Sadler arrived from Berwick; a second siege train was landed from the ships; the lines were pushed forward 'on the east side of the town;' and notwithstanding incessant sallies of the French, a battery was placed within six hundred yards of the walls.

St Anthony's steeple on which guns had been mounted was brought rapidly to the ground. Unable from want of numbers to enclose the whole French lines, Grey threw up works at intervals along the south and south-west. The main body of the army moved from Restalrig to the southern angle—virtually completing the blockade. Boats could still creep into the harbour on dark or stormy nights; but the supplies which could be thrown in thus were inconsiderable. When the stores within the walls were exhausted, d'Oysel if unrelieved must surrender.

Skirmishes went on daily, in which the English were generally successful, penetrating occasionally into the French defences. Grey's spirits rose with success. He complained that with the exception of half a dozen Protestant noblemen, he could find no Scot to serve with him even for wages; but the half of the town he considered certain and not distant.

Elizabeth after Monluc's departure changed her mind about Edinburgh Castle, and sent word that if Grey still wished it, he might attempt its capture, but the opportunity was passed. The siege of Leith having now been

begun in form, must be finished before anything else was undertaken.¹

Day and night the English batteries flashed and roared. On the evening of the 30th the town was observed to be on fire. Fanned by a fresh breeze, the blaze rose into the sky, lighting up the masts and spars of Winter's fleet, and throwing its red glare on the walls and chimneys of Edinburgh. The English skirmishers, to assist the confusion, attacked the enemy's lines; and amidst the shouts of action and the roar of the artillery, Grey sat in his tent writing an exulting despatch to Norfolk. A third part of Leith was in ashes ere he closed his letter. The flames shot up again as he was writing the last words, and an eager postscript added—'Yet it burns—yet—yet'²

The French however rose above their difficulties with a spirit which was beyond praise. When day broke the next morning, as if to mock the hopes of the besiegers, there were Maypoles standing on the walls, and May garlands festooned above the trenches. The English guns tore open breaches; but the defences rose again as if by magic. Elizabeth, impatient of the expense, believed that the soldiers were intentionally dilatory, and wrote in anger and impatience; yet the longer Grey looked at the French works, the less he liked the prospect of assaulting them. He preferred to trust 'to spade and mattock:' 'his powers were far too weak;' should he attempt to storm and fail, he 'saw not that he should be

¹ Grey to Norfolk, April 30 *MS Rolls House.*

² Grey to Norfolk *MS Rolls House.*

able to make a second trial,' and might be forced to raise the siege with dishonour.

But the blockade though sure was slow and costly. Even Norfolk was inclined to think that there was a want either of energy or of skill. 'My Lord Grey's service,' he wrote to Cecil, 'doth consist but upon courage without conduct; every man that can lead a band of horsemen is not fit for so great an enterprise.'¹ It was remembered that Grey had lost Guisnes; and to himself the Duke wrote even more painfully, almost accusing him of timidity—and taunting him with being delayed so long before a sandbank. Grey himself was perhaps in fault, yet not as Norfolk supposed; and there were other and far worse offenders. Systematic fraud was carried on in the army, particularly in Sir James Crofts' division. The numbers were not what they were pretended to be. the soldiers had deserted by hundreds; to conceal their carelessness, a false return was sent in by the captains—and wages continued to be drawn for more than three thousand men who had left the camp.²

A competent commander should have detected so large a deficiency; but there were so many crooked influences at work, so many cross purposes, such shifting orders, such vacillation of policy, that a plain blunt soldier like Grey might well have been perplexed into worse mistakes.

¹ Norfolk to Cecil *MS.* Ibid

² 'Your Majesty is charged at this time for 8813 footmen, and there are not 5000 serving in the camp; so that your Majesty is monstrously robbed'—Report of Sir Peter Carew, May 28 *Bunghley Papers*, vol. i.

Driven forward however by Elizabeth's reproaches, and stung by Norfolk's taunts, the General found himself compelled against his judgment to run the risk of an assault. The weather had been foul, the nights wet, cold, and stormy. The English troops, which were young and unused to exposure, had suffered heavily from the extended trench duty to which their numbers were unequal. Even for the blockade they would now require reinforcements, while a *coup de main* might perhaps succeed and end the siege. On the 6th May of May the batteries seemed to have broken an available opening in the works. A general storm by land and sea was resolved on in a council of war for the following morning. In the evening, after all had been settled, Sir Ralph Sadler, William Kirkcaldy, and Crofts, went forward to examine the ground. It was dusk, but as well as they could see the breaches were extremely dangerous if not wholly impracticable. They agreed that the attack must be deferred; and Sadler and Kirkcaldy went to their tents, leaving Crofts going as they supposed to Grey to report their opinion.

For some reason which was never known, the original order was maintained. A thousand Scots had been brought in the day before by the Earl of Argyle, whom it was perhaps thought well to make use of before they scattered again; and in the morning twilight, between two and three, the whole English line advanced.

On reaching the point where the breaches ought to have been, they found themselves encountered by a deep, broad trench, beyond which stood a stone wall

scarcely injured, with the approaches swept by flanking towers.

Careless of the works which they saw before them, the men leaped into the ditches and attempted to scale, but the ladders were six feet too short. Scrambling helplessly on the upright masonry, they soon found that they were trying an impossibility, and as they fell at the foot of the wall, they were overwhelmed with shot, stone, and blazing pitch. 'The Frenchmen's harlots'—Scotch women of the town—swarmed on the battlements, loading the guns, rolling tar-barrels, or carrying scalding water. So ill had the arrangements been made, that though Sir James Crofts was responsible for the assault, he did not himself come to time, and his division was not present. For two hours the storming party struggled desperately, at the mercy of enemies whom they could not reach. Some few even found their way into the town, and persuaded themselves that if Crofts had done his duty they might after all have succeeded; but more probably it was a mismanaged and entirely hopeless business from the first.

The dying Mary of Lorraine had been carried from her bed to the walls of the Castle to watch the fight. As the sun rose out of the Forth, she saw the English columns surge like the sea waves against the granite ramparts, and like the sea waves fall shattered into spray.

After half the officers engaged had fallen, and eight hundred men lay dead and wounded in the trenches, the bugles sounded a recall and the unavailing carnage was ended.

All was now panic. The Scots in Edinburgh made haste to wash their hands of allies of whose success they now despaired; they refused even to give houseroom to the wounded, and left them to die in the streets.¹ 'The soldiers were so feared,' that at once to check desertion ten days' pay was advanced throughout the camp. At first the number lost was thought to be terrible, for the delinquent captains caught the opportunity to cover their frauds, and reported men as dead who had not existed save on the muster-roll. A few days shrunk the estimate below a thousand; yet so far from feeling equal to a second attempt, Grey doubted whether he could continue in the field, and it was even proposed to send the siege guns for safety on board the fleet.

Norfolk, when the news reached Newcastle, on his own responsibility sent off two thousand men—the whole of his reserve—and wrote to the Court, pressing for instant reinforcements, 'or the matter would quail.' One only, comforting symptom was reported the French were running short of food, and if the blockade could be sustained, success at last might still be hoped for. Grey therefore clung tenaciously to his ground, dreading only that he might be driven from it before assistance could reach him, or that the army might rebel and insist on a retreat.

'If the French knew how weak we are,' wrote Sailer, 'it might be dangerous to us. Many fall sick, many daily and nightly steal away, or run from us. Those

¹ Sir George Howard to Norfolk, May 7 *MS Rol's House*

which remain are so wearied with watch and ward, that they and their captains murmur and grudge at it; and it is rather to be feared that they will mutiny and leave us in the field, than to be hoped that any good service is to be looked for at their hands.'¹ The cowardly inhumanity of the Edinburgh citizens was supposed to foretell the general apostasy of the Congregation; and the Regent again offered them every concession which they could ask, if they would relinquish the English alliance. Maitland happily, supported by Lord James Stuart and Ruthven, had influence enough for the present to keep his party true to their promises,² and a day or two later the two thousand men sent from Newcastle arrived, to allay the panic and restore order and confidence.

But how would Elizabeth endure to hear that her army had been defeated, that the assault which she had insisted on in her impatience of the expense had failed, that she must now either increase her force and submit to an indefinite protraction of the enterprise, or recede with dishonour upon the support of her Spanish brother-in-law?

Amidst the cross purposes and intentional falsehoods, with the difficulty of distinguishing between the Queen's own views and those expressed in letters which were written in her name under Cecil's influence, her personal opinions are throughout hard to discover. She was still so young, her temperament was so singular, a compound

¹ Sadler to Norfolk, May 11: *MS. Rolls House*.

² Maitland to Cecil, May 14. *MS Ibid*.

of self-confidence and irresolution, the position itself was so difficult, and the opinions of her most experienced advisers were so widely divided, that she must have yielded from the first with some reluctance to Cecil's guidance. Nay, there is reason to think that even before the defeat her mind misgave her, and that her purpose had required to be sustained by a restatement of the grounds on which the Scotch expedition had been attempted.¹

When the bad news came, her Majesty 'renewed the opinions of Cassandra' ² 'God,' wrote Cecil to Throgmorton, 'trieth us with many difficulties. The Queen's Majesty never liketh this matter of Scotland; you know what hangeth thereupon—weak-hearted men and flatterers follow that way.'³ 'She mindeth,' Cecil continued in his ordinary hand, 'she mindeth so earnestly as nothing shall be spared: order is given to send both men, money, and artillery, with all possible speed' But he added in cipher, 'I have had such a torment herein with the Queen's Majesty as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated me.'⁴ A week later her humour was not improved. On the 22nd of May Cecil again wrote that

¹ There is a paper in the Rolls House, endorsed in Cecil's hand. 'A Memorial for the Queen's Majesty,' and dated the 5th of May, in which the arguments for the war were drawn out with great power and clearness. *Domestic MSS, Elizabeth*, vol. xiii. There was nothing in these however which had not been

said many times before, and it is difficult to guess why such a memorial should have been required

² Killigrew to Throgmorton, May 13. FORBES, vol. 1

³ Lord Robert Dudley especially, who dreaded Arran's rivalry

⁴ Cecil to Throgmorton, May 13. 1560. FORBES, vol. 1

‘she was so evil disposed to the matter, that it troubled them all.’¹

Fortunately the council, whatever their general policy, were unanimous in determining that it was now impossible to recede, and that every effort must be made to repair the disaster. Norfolk, the most unwilling to consent to the expedition, was the loudest to insist on supporting it. The old Marquis of Winchester, who was more than half a Catholic, concluded that ‘worldly things would sometimes fall out contrary, but if quietly taken could be quietly amended;’ it was idle to lament for what could not be recalled, and ‘misfortunes should increase the Queen’s courage to apply the revenge’²

Lord Clinton reminded Cecil that ‘the French were a nation of soldiers,’ who of course ‘would stand to their defence for a first assault.’ Their expulsion out of Leith could not be effected without loss of men; and if the Queen was irritated, she must be told the truth ‘If the French have the upper hand in Scotland,’ he said; ‘if that come to pass which God defend, then all the wars and plagues that ever were to this realm in our days and our fathers’, will be found but a fleabiting in comparison of the dangers and griefs that will be felt in all good Englishmen’s hearts.’³

Clinton went down to Portsmouth to hurry the reserve fleet to sea. Orders were sent round the shore to

¹ Cecil to Throgmorton, May 22

FORBES, vol i

² The Marquis of Winchester to Cecil, May 12. *Domestic MSS. Rolls*

House

³ Clinton to Cecil, May 12 : *MS.*

Ibid.

call out the musters, trim the beacons, and draft contingents for the northern army. Ten thousand men in a few weeks would assemble at Newcastle, and Norfolk undertook to lead them in person to Edinburgh. To prevent disturbance at home the ex-bishops were ordered into stricter confinement; the notorious Catholic families were placed under stricter surveillance; Sir James Crofts was deprived of his command and sent to London to answer for himself; and courage was restored in the camp.

Better news too came from Spain. On the first reception of Elizabeth's answer, Philip had talked loudly of the necessity of sending a Spanish force into Scotland, the French asked for them, he said, and he had no excuse for refusing. A singular story too, whether true or false, reached the ears of the English ambassadors: the Emperor's minister at Madrid gave them warning that another conspiracy was on foot to murder Elizabeth and Lord Robert Dudley, while to end all quarrels, Don Carlos was to marry a sister of the French King, and the British Isles were to be partitioned between France and Spain.¹

But the acute and suspicious Philip could scarcely have conceived as yet so wild an enterprise; and the French, although they desired the promise of Spanish assistance as something which might frighten Elizabeth, yet dreaded the reality as much as the English themselves.² So far as Philip had a distinct intention—it was

¹ Montague and Chamberlain to the Queen, April 29, decipher. | *Spanish MSS Rolls House*
² 'Franceses han trabajado y

to revolutionize England; and in proposing to land an army in Scotland, he spoke truly when he said they would act as much against the French as for them. The Duke of Alva angrily told the English ambassadors that as the Queen had made her bed, so she must lie on it; she had been warned 'against innovations, either in religion or otherwise, to the misliking of the world;' but she would listen to no advice, and must take the consequence of her folly. But when Chamberlain pressed for his secret opinion, the Duke briefly quoted the Spanish proverb—'If thy enemy be in water to the girdle, lend thy hand to help him out; if he be in to the shoulders, hold on him and keep him down;'—meaning, as the ambassador understood him, 'If the Queen be strong enough to drive the French out of Scotland, let her do it without asking further counsel or aid' ¹

Such uncertainty as might remain on the proceedings of the Spaniards was soon at an end. In the beginning of June news came that the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean had been destroyed by the Turks; and Philip, whose object was to restore his ² ruined finances,

trabajan por quantas vias pueden sirviendose de la fama de N^{ra} asistencia y teniendo muy poca gana de usar della' — De Quadra to the Count de Feria, May 23

Even Spanish mediation was not really welcome

'Nous presupposons bien que vostre Majesté aura aussi advertie que les François, en nulle sorte du monde ont intention de traicter et

eulz appointer effectivement avec ladite Roynne par le moyen et intercession de vostre Majesté'—De Quadra and De Glasion to Philip II, June 7 *MS Simancas*.

¹ Montague and Chamberlain to the Queen, May 19. *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*

² 'Where her Majesty oweth one million of ducats, King Philip and the French King oweth each of

recalled his army in the Netherlands to Spain, and relinquished for the moment the thought of interference in the British Isles.

'Let her Majesty proceed,' wrote Sir Thomas Gresham, 'and her Highness will bring her subjects and the realm in like estimation as heretofore hath been. A God's name, put to with all the powers ye may, recover the name and credit that England hath had in times past, and that was that England had the best men of war by land and sea that was in all Christendom, for the which all princes feared England. King Philip sends the Queen word that he will help the French King to subdue the Scots. They urge another way here and say that King Philip shall be fain to seek to her Majesty for succour, saying that God is such a God, and they say openly that God hath blessed her Majesty for her religion's sake, and plagues all other princes for their papistry and idolatry'¹

Everywhere notwithstanding the defeat events were working in favour of England. The Guises went about in daily fear of murder. The Cardinal of Lorraine travelled in a coach mounted with falconets. Thirty thousand Huguenots were expected to rise in open rebellion, 'to put down the House of Guise or lose their lives.' Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had dug his mine below the schemes of the Queen of Scots and her kinsmen, and instead of leading a victorious army to London

them twenty millions'—Gresham to Sir T. Parry, June 16 *Flanders* | ¹ Gresham to Cecil *MS Rolls House*.
MISS Ibid

they were soon to have a struggle for existence at their own doors.

No aid from France could reach the doomed garrison at Leith, for all their gallantry; and as the English lines once more closed up, M. de Randan came over to London to be joined in commission with the Regent, Monluc, d'Oysel, and Labross, to make the best terms they could. De Randan's instructions were vague; his powers were not openly avowed; he was still if possible to cause divisions between the English and the Scots; he was forbidden at all hazards to recognize their alliance as legitimate; engineers came in his train disguised as his servants, to survey the works of Berwick, and to assist at Leith. Yet in case of extremity he was empowered to surrender the town and agree to a peace, reserving only the allegiance of the Scots to the daughter of James the Fifth.

On the 17th of May the Regent wrote to d'Oysel to inquire how long he could hold out. The letter was written in cipher on the pocket-handkerchief of an adventurer who attempted to steal with it through the English lines.¹ Failing to communicate with him thus, Mary of Guise professed to desire medicine from a physician who was in Leith. She sent her application to Grey, and requested him to forward it. Grey held the letter to the fire. The invisible ink turned black, and the real contents appeared. He threw it into the fire, bidding the messenger 'tell his mistress that he would

¹ Intercepted Letter of the Queen Regent. *MS. Scotland, Elizabeth*

keep her counsel, but that such wares would not sell till a new market.'

The neutrals, seeing the English determined, began to perceive what the end would be, and to declare themselves more decisively. The French troops were reduced to sixteen ounces of bread for each man daily, with a slice of salt salmon. The conclusion in spite of their victory could not be far off, and De Randan found that he would be compelled to negotiate in earnest. The raising of troops in England was not intermitted for a day. The terms which could be exacted depended on the strength of the new army of reserve.

As the war had been Cecil's, Cecil was appointed commissioner to end it. Cecil, Sadler, Wotton, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Peter Carew were chosen to meet De Randan and the Bishop of Valence at Newcastle, if the French ministers required the assistance of the Regent and d'Oysel, they were to go on in a body to Edinburgh.

Reluctant to leave London, yet unable to refuse, Cecil accepted his nomination with painful misgiving. Had he felt sure of Elizabeth, he would have gone with confidence, knowing that no one could do better than he what the Queen's service required. As it was, 'the journey,' he said, 'appeared to him very strange.' 'He feared the success, because the Queen's Majesty was so evil disposed.' 'His friends in the council thought it convenient that he should go,' his friends abroad 'thought that he was betrayed to be sent from the Queen's side.' He was obliged to warn Throgmorton 'to write circumspectly, for how he should be judged of in his absence

he knew not;'¹ while Sir Henry Killigrew wrote that 'the worst interpretation was placed on Cecil's departure;' Pembroke, Clinton, and Norfolk were true to him, but 'other friends he had none;' 'I know,' Killigrew added significantly, 'I know that none can love their country better than Mr Cecil: I would the Queen's Majesty could love it so well'²

The management of the treaty and the responsibility of the treaty alike were left to him. The defeat still weighed upon the Court and the courtiers. In one of many ways, the object for which he was contending was expected to be snatched from him, and his disgrace would follow on his failure

The conditions which he intended to demand were limited to the points which Elizabeth's safety required. The English and French troops alike should withdraw from Scotland: a handful of French might remain, but no more. He meant to ask for the restoration of Calais, on the plea that the treaty of Cambray had been broken; but he did not mean to insist upon it. He would require the Queen of Scots to relinquish the arms of England, and to signify formally that she abandoned her pretensions to Elizabeth's throne; yet even here he was so anxious to secure the essentials of peace that he would content himself with something general and vague. The government of Scotland might be settled between the French and the Scots; with that he did not propose to interfere; but he should require the King

¹ Cecil to Throgmorton, May 22 and May 27. FORBES, vol. i.

² Killigrew to Throgmorton, May 28. Ibid.

and Queen of France, as an absolute condition of the treaty, to promise liberty of conscience to their subjects.¹ Liberty of conscience would follow necessarily on the departure of the French army.

To secure these objects, Cecil, sick at heart for what might happen in his absence, set out on the 30th of May for the north. One more article he was prepared to require, which would be the hardest of all to extort. He would agree to no treaty in which the alliance between England and the Lords of the Congregation should not in some form or other be recognized; while De Randan privately assured De Quadra that 'sooner than admit the right of their subjects to make a league with a foreign prince, his master and mistress would lose Scotland altogether.'² The French would make any concession however extravagant to the Scots themselves, if they could separate them from the English, and save their Queen from the ignominy of admitting Elizabeth to a share in her subjects' allegiance.

No sooner was Cecil gone than the influences which he most dreaded were brought to bear upon Elizabeth. Incessantly on the watch to assail her in her weaker

¹ In the first draft of 'the articles to be demanded,' 'The English,' it was said, 'shall intrepcede with the French to grant liberty of conscience in Scotland, and suspend the action of the laws' Cecil altered this in his own hand into—

'The English Commissioners shall press for liberty of conscience, and if it is refused, they shall break

off the treaty.'—Instructions to Sir William Cecil *Scotch MSS Elizabeth, Rolls House*. Though the articles are in the form of instructions, they appear to have been determined by Cecil himself from the changes which he felt himself authorized to introduce into them

² De Quadra to Philip, June 7 *MSS Simancas*.

moments, the smooth-tongued De Quadra was charged with a message to her from the Pope. It had been resolved at a meeting of the Cardinals to treat her errors with paternal kindness, instead of letters of interdict and excommunication to send the Abbot of St Saviour's, who had been one of Pole's chaplains, to confer with her; and De Quadra was commissioned to win a promise from her to receive him. How the message was accepted, with much else on the Queen's general humour, the ambassador tells for himself.

DE QUADRA TO THE BISHOP OF ARRAS.¹

London, June 3.

June 'The commissioners are gone. The Queen expects that the French cannot relieve Leith, and that famine will force the garrison to surrender. The French on their side are as confident as she. They believe that they can make terms with the insurgents, and go on with their other projects. For myself I think the chances are with the French; the garrison I know is in difficulties; but they will have leisure to arrange their quarrel with the Scots, and will offer them separate conditions which they will accept. It is in fear of this that Cecil has been sent. I spoke to the Queen two days ago, and she could not conceal her uneasiness from me. She was neither so bitter nor so suspicious as I have lately found her. If she succeed in her wild projects of embroiling us with France, and of making one monarchy

¹ *MS. Simancas.*

out of this island, she will care nothing for us ; but in case she fail she desires to keep on terms with our King, who if her Catholic subjects rebel, may be able to pacify them for her.

‘ These last she is arresting right and left. I told her she was treating them cruelly and wickedly. She said they were conspiring to make a revolution : she could show me proofs of it ; and those who had appeared the most sanctified were the worst.

‘ It has become too plain that neither menace can terrify her nor kindness win her confidence. I employ a tone with her therefore in which I can point out her mistakes, and show her the mischief which may rise from her chimerical policy, without driving her into a passion. I do not blame her : I lay the fault on her advisers. I have told her that at the beginning of her reign she ought to have strengthened herself with a prudent marriage ; she should have looked for alliances abroad, she should have attended to her revenues, and have engaged officers to train her subjects in the art of war

‘ She thought I was alluding to that first great offer of ours which she refused. She said she was well aware of the greatness of the King our sovereign, the world had not another such match to offer, but she had no wish to marry—she hated the thought of it, her greatest happiness would be to live and die a virgin. As to the Archduke, she had given the Count Helfestejn an answer with which he ought to have been satisfied ; and the person in fault in this matter was

the old gentleman,¹ who would not let his son come to England.

‘I told her she must be perfectly aware that I could not believe that. I knew too much about the Earl of Arran and her scheme for the union of the realms.

‘She pretended to be very angry, and protested that she had no intentions of the kind.

‘Speaking of the war, I said she had been wrong in quarrelling with the French; she knew that she might have perfect confidence in his Majesty; and his Majesty—as M. de Glasion had told her—was ready to send troops of his own to Scotland, to spare her every reason for alarm. The Scots were a miserable bankrupt people, engaged in a scandalous rebellion, and inveterately hostile to England.

‘We talked long. I silenced her; but she remained unconvinced and unchanged. At last she said the past could not be cured.

‘Her object in pressing matters to extremity has been to divide us from France. If she fail, she leaves a door open to recover her seat and her stirrups with the help of his Majesty. She is now aware that she cannot light up a continental war again; but she still hopes to expel the French from the island, and to unite the realms; and till she is undeceived on this point also, she will never confess the truth. Her conviction is that the Low Countries will not endure to be at war with Eng-

¹ ‘Aquel viejo’—meaning the Emperor.

land, and that his Majesty for his own sake will be forced to continue her friend.

‘Leaving these matters we talked of the mission of the Abbot of St Saviour’s from the Pope. She seemed surprised, and remembering the humour of the Catholics, even alarmed.

I said his Holiness, being a wise prince and a loving father to all his children, could have no object save to give her paternal admonition and advice. I thought perhaps the mission had originated in a suggestion of the King our sovereign, who always hoped that a woman so gifted and so wise would find a way to reunite her subjects with the Universal Catholic Church. His Majesty I knew had expressed this conviction to the Pope, to obviate the designs of the French ; and the Pope perhaps wished to ascertain her real feelings.

‘She was evidently pleased ; she was afraid that his Majesty had withdrawn his support from her at Rome, and a declaration of the Pope against her at this moment she knows would be most unseasonable. For this reason she went on to tell me that she was as good a Catholic as I was. She called God to witness that her belief was the belief of all Catholics in the realm

‘I said that if this was true she had done wrong in dissembling against her conscience on a question of so vast importance. She had committed a crime against her poor subjects, who had been led by her example to desert their religion. Her very honour was touched by it

‘She replied that she had been compelled at the time

to act as she did, and that if I knew how she had been driven to it she was sure I should excuse her.

‘I said nothing could excuse her; or if circumstances were conceivable which might palliate such conduct, they had not existed in her case. As the realm stood when she succeeded to the crown, she might have kept religion as her sister left it, with far less trouble and danger to herself.¹

‘In the end I pretended to believe what she said; and I made much of it, that she might find a difficulty hereafter in extricating herself from her words, which assuredly she will try to do when her present alarms are over.

‘I brought her to say that the nuncio which the Pope was sending should be welcome, and that it should not be her fault if the Church was not united again.

‘If I had pressed for a more distinct promise, I be-

¹ ‘Consolóse mucho á esto, porque cierto ella temia que su Mag^d hubiese alzado la mano de su proteccion en Roma, y sabe que le vendria muy á mala sazon cualquiera declaracion que el Papa hiciese en su negocio . . . y con este placer vino á decirme que era tan Catolica como yo, y que hacia á Dios testigo de que lo que ella creia no era diferente de lo que todos los Catolicos de su Reyno creian.

‘Dijela que como disimulaba en cosa desta calidad contra su conciencia y contra la de los pobres subditos que por su ejemplo dejaban la religion verdadera y contra su

honor proprio que padeceria grandemente haciendo mudanzas en cosa en que no se sufria hacerla le menor del mundo

‘Respondióme que era forzada ad tempus, y que si yo supiese lo que á esto le habia forzado que sabia que la tendria por escusada

‘Dijele que yo sabia bien que ninguna cosa podría escusarle en tan importante negocio, pero que aunque pudiese escusarse yo sabia que el estado de las cosas de este Reyno era tal que con mucho menos peligro y trabajo pudiera conservar la religion que halló en el tiempo que murió su hermana’

lieve she would have given it ; but her words are not her thoughts. I am as convinced as ever that her real intentions are what I have before described them ; but I am astonished at the effrontery with which, on such grave subjects, she will say whatever is convenient for the moment.

‘After all however she is a woman and inconstant ; and she may one day be compelled to do what now she pretends to be willing to do.

‘I affected to believe her and even to appear in some degree satisfied with her. Had I shown her that I saw through her, I should have driven her to animosity and obstinacy. We parted better friends than usual. It is idle to threaten ; I may not go beyond my commission ; and by keeping up appearances with her, however false, and by pretending to be her friend, I am able to tell her things which she does not know, and which her ministers keep concealed from her. Your Grace in this will not disapprove my conduct’¹

Was Elizabeth, as De Quadra supposed, simply a practised diplomatist ? was she, a young woman of twenty-seven, already so careless of truth, so skilled in the artifices of state-craft ? In the crooked policy of the last twelve months she had been compelled often to equivocate, and sometimes deliberately to lie. Yet the language of Cecil and Killigrew pointed rather to some uncertainty in herself—to some infirmity of purpose in a mind but half made up. A Protestant, in the sense

¹ De Quadra to the Bishop of Arras, June 3 *MS. S. manusc.*

that Cecil was a Protestant, Elizabeth never to the last became. It is more natural to believe that she had many humours, many partially-formed views, by which she allowed herself in turn to be influenced.

To return to the northern commission

Before Cecil reached Newcastle, the engineers had been discovered in De Randan's train.¹ Papal emissaries were reported to be busy in the families of the Scotch nobles. The women as usual were on the side of conservatism, romance, and the Catholic faith; and Randolph wrote that 'too many of the lords kept their promises only so far as their wives would have them.'² The most cheering feature was the increasing famine in the Leith garrison. Sir Henry Percy had been able to tell Norfolk on the 6th of June, that d'Oysel, finding that no help could reach him from France and that a second English army was ready to advance, had admitted that he must be overpowered, and had expressed a wish to treat with Percy rather than 'taste the cruelty of Lord Grey.'³ There was as yet no actual starvation 'except among the superfluous people;'⁴ but famine was in the town with fever in its rear, and it was advancing.

The first conference at Newcastle resulted only in an adjournment to Edinburgh. Before the commissioners

¹ Cecil to Norfolk, June 4 *MS*
Rolls House

² *MS* *Ibid*

³ Percy to Norfolk, June 6 *MS*
Rolls House Possibly, however,
this too was 'practice.' Percy might

be suspected of sharing the opinions
of his brother, the Earl of Northum-
berland, and d'Oysel might hope to
make a party in the English army.

⁴ Cecil to the Council, June 8
Burghley Papers, vol. i.

were over the Border, the French party had lost for ever their presiding spirit.

Shut up in Edinburgh Castle, cut off from her friends and half a prisoner under the cold neutrality of Erskine, the mother of Mary Queen of Scots had sunk from day to day, her body swollen with dropsy, the visible shadow of death fast closing over her; yet to the last going through her daily work with the same cheerful resolution, cool, clear, and dauntless as became a daughter of the House of Guise.

Her position was forlorn and even tragic; religion had not many consolations for her; her confessor was an abandoned debauchee, whose ministrations must have been a mockery, and it was over-late to learn a new creed. But she came of a race who could bear the goods and ills of fortune with an even pulse, nor was she a person at any time to believe that much depended on nice precision of opinion. In May she had seemed better; at the beginning of June the worst symptoms returned. On the 6th she was reported 'very ill and like to die.' On the 8th she sent for Chatelherault and Lord James Stuart, her hands and feet were then growing cold; she knew that she was dying, and though scarcely able to speak she said she was sorry for Scotland and sorry for her own share in Scotland's sufferings. 'Her mind' seemed 'well disposed to God' Lord James, whose earnest Calvinism made him anxious for her fate, asked if he might send for Willock the preacher—Knox's colleague in Edinburgh. She made no objection, and Randolph in a letter to Norfolk said that

Willock at the moment when he was writing was at the Queen's bedside.¹ She heard him probably with but a languid sense of what he said, for her mind was wandering; she received the last sacraments as a Catholic, and desired the two noblemen not to leave her while she breathed; at midnight, between the 10th and 11th of June, she died.

So ended Mary of Lorraine, once Mary Duchesse de Longueville, the wittiest, brightest, fairest ornament of the Court of Francis the First, whom Henry the Eighth had desired as a bride; now closing thus her nineteen years of widowhood and exile in the land of the stranger.

To her had been committed the hopeless task of fighting the Reformation and holding together the friends of France, at a time when another destiny was marked out for Scotland, and the alliance with France was perishing to revive no more. From Solway Moss to the siege of Leith her retrospect was a strange one—her child's birth and her husband's death, the harrying of Scotland by Henry's armies, the murder of Beton, and the vain carnage of Pinkie Cleugh—through it all she had clung fast to the helm—tempest-tossed, yet with firm front and heart undaunted; and now at length her cause like herself was in its death-throes.

¹ Knox may be pardoned the triumph with which he describes the scene — 'Quhowsoever it was, Christ Jesus got na small victorie over sich an ennemy For albeit before schē had avowit that in despyte of all Scotland the preachers of Jesu

Christ sould ather die or be banisch-
eit the realm, yet was sche con-
straint to heir ane of the principell
ministeris within the realm, and to
approve the chief heid of our reli-
gion'—KNOX, *History*, vol. ii. p. 71

Her body remained in the Castle—to be carried back to France when opportunity allowed; and was treated meanwhile with decorous though Puritan solemnity.¹ With her the worst enemy of England was gone: and the chance, if chance there had been, of prevailing on the Scotch nobles to make a separate peace with France had departed with her. The news gave increased resolution to the English council. A letter followed Cecil on the 15th, telling him that if De Randan and Montlac took advantage of the Queen's death and pretended inability to proceed, he might 'let them go' and 'take order for as vigorous a use of force as might be,' 'her Majesty being determined to go through with expelling the French without longer delay'

The commissioners on both sides reached Edinburgh on the 16th. There had been no fighting since the failure of the 7th of May, but the blockade had been sustained rigidly by sea and land. On the 18th an intercepted letter from De Randan to d'Oysel informed Cecil that no relief could be sent from France before August at the soonest. De Randan said he intended to agree to withdraw all the French except a few at Dunbar and Inchkeith, but he was instructed to agree to no clause by which the Queen of Scots should abandon her claim on the English Crown. He might promise

¹ 'I saw the Dowager's corpse | shall have all solemnities fit for such
in a bed, covered with a fair white | a personage, save such as savour
sheet, the tester of black satin, and | rather of superstition than of Chris-
the bed hanged to the ground with | tian piety'—Randolph to Killigrew
the same. It is determined she | June 20 *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

that the King of France would use his influence to induce her to relinquish the arms and style, but his commission went no further¹

Cecil was thus in possession of two valuable secrets, and knew for what he was to look and how far he might dare to insist. Meantime there had been a general reform of the army; the strutting in gay dresses had been a vice of the English officers, 'some captains carried twenty, some forty soldiers in their hose.' Extravagance had led to fraud, and fraud to worse mischiefs. Sir Peter Carew had come from London with summary power from the Queen to punish delinquents and to set crooked things straight. With Carew's assistance discipline had been restored, and the troops were reported to be 'doing truly and worthily like good men of war.'² Of Lord Grey, Winter, and Randolph, Cecil could not speak in too high praise: 'My Lord Grey,' he said, 'is a noble, valiant, painful, and careful gentleman; Randolph worth more than I fear our time will well consider, and no poolar nor robber. Of Mr Winter all men speak so well I need not mention him.'³

Norfolk with the army of reserve reported himself from Berwick as ready to come forward should the French prove intractable. It was evident that, embar-

¹ Decipher of an intercepted letter to M d'Oysel, June 18 *Scotch MSS Rolls House.*

² Report of Sir Peter Carew: FORBES, vol 1 Cecil to the Queen, June 19 *MS Rolls House.* Cecil had an especial aversion to the fine

dresses 'Your Majesty,' he said, 'will think me a great enemy to sumptuous apparel, that neither can spare my speech at it in London nor in Edinburgh'

³ Ibid

raised at home and in dread of Philip, the French Government did not mean to declare war. De Randan's solitary hope was of working upon the Scots

The Scots themselves felt their advantage and were inclined to make the most of it

'Although,' wrote Cecil, 'the lords of Scotland' late the French and be devoted to England, yet some be for one respect and some for another. Many questions be moved to me whereunto I cannot answer. As for making a peace here, I think we may sooner do it than the Scots would have it.

The Scots desired to have the benefit of both connections; they wished to keep the pensions and lands which many of them held in France, they desired to use the assistance of England to insist on points which the English themselves most desired to see abandoned, they were impatient for the conclusion of the Arran marriage, on which Elizabeth had been ominously reserved. From Maitland, Argyle, and Lord James, Cecil derived his most real help. Maitland, he said, 'was disposed to work all the minds of the nobility to allow anything which the Queen of England might determine.' Maitland was 'most in credit for his wit' of any in Scotland, and 'almost alone sustained the whole burden of Government.' 'Next him was Lord James, not unlike neither in person nor qualities to be a king's son' 'Argyle was a goodly gentleman universally honoured of all Scotland'²

¹ Cecil to the Queen, July 19 *MS. Rolls House*

² Cecil to the Queen *MS. Ibid.*

The conference opened on the 17th. An armistice was allowed for a week ; and the armies had leisure to exchange courtesies. The French and English officers met at a sort of picnic on Leith sands, ' each bringing with him such victuals as he had in store. From Grey's camp came hams, capons, chickens, wine and beer. The French produced a solitary fowl, a piece of baked horse, and six delicately-roasted rats ; the last, they said, was the best fresh meat in the town, but of that they had abundance.¹

The Gospel also became fashionable with the improvement in its chances of success. The Scots had adopted the Genevan ' discipline ' Many persons confessed their sins before the Congregation at sermon time in Cecil's presence, and Lady Stenhouse, the mistress of the Archbishop of St Andrew's and the mother of his children, was ordered to do penance on the following Sunday.² Among the first difficulties in the conference were the extravagant pretensions of the preachers, to whom mere toleration seemed now utterly inadequate. Had it not been for Maitland, ' whose credit and capacity was worth any six others,' ' their folly would have hazarded all.'³ In general however the French conceded everything which the Congregation demanded. It was agreed that ' they might remain in their religion, as a thing the French dared not meddle withal.' Of the whole French army fifty soldiers only would remain

¹ Randolph to Killigrew, June 22 ' *MS. Rolls House.*

² *Ibid*

³ Cecil to Norfolk, June 25 *Hatfield MSS.*

at Inchkeith and fifty at Dunbar; the number was not to be increased; they were to be 'answerable to the justice of Scotland;' and should be withdrawn wholly if the Scotch Parliament on its next meeting should so desire. All seemed going well. In his anxiety for peace and his uncertainty how far he would be supported at home, Cecil had been even inclined to pass lightly over the more difficult points of the treaty with the Scots, and the title to the English Crown. Calais had not been so much as mentioned; and peace was on the point of conclusion when a difficulty arose from an unexpected quarter.

Elizabeth, finding her Cassandra prophecies unfulfilled, had passed to an extremity of confidence. Encouraged by 'the rugged state of the French and their little power to annoy her,'¹ she desired to obtain some more substantial advantage from her outlay than Cecil had been prepared to demand. She had relinquished in her heart—if she had ever seriously entertained—the thought of marrying Arran and uniting England and Scotland; and she had therefore to look to indemnify herself in another quarter. Cecil had expressed his belief 'that if she had money to carry on the war for a year, she might so abase France as her posterity to the third generation might live quietly.'² She had suddenly discovered that she was both ready and willing. She sent orders to Cecil to exact a literal and formal admission of her right to make a treaty with the Scots; she

¹ Sir T. Parry to Cecil, June 22 *MS Rolls House*

² Cecil to the Queen, June 19 *MS. Ibid*

required the Queen of Scots not only to engage to abandon her claim on the English Crown, but to signify to all the world by a formal act and proclamation, that she withdrew her pretensions ; and further, she insisted that the treaty of Cambray was void, and that her right to Calais and to the old debt of the half-million crowns should be referred to the arbitration of the King of Spain.¹

The 'new matter' put all in a hazard. A day or two later the Queen in a second letter demanded further that a clause should be added to the treaty, which the Scotch nobles should sign, binding themselves as parties—for whom their sovereign's signature did not wholly suffice—to see its conditions fulfilled. If the French refused to consent the conference was to cease, and Norfolk should advance from Berwick and 'set on in God's name.'²

A survey of Leith had convinced Cecil that unless the French troops mutinied the capture of it would still be expensive and bloody. The garrison was not yet at its last extremity ; the salmon were coming in from the sea, and were caught in numbers with boats and nets in the mouth of the harbour. Arrows were shot over the walls with notes attached to them telling the French troops that they were to be sacrificed, in the hope that with 'this practice' 'the town might be rendered.' Yet even a bare surrender Cecil hardly desired, feeling that if Leith fell without conditions, the pride of France would

¹ Elizabeth to Cecil, June 26 *MS. Rolls House*

² Elizabeth to Cecil, June 28. *MS Ibid*

be touched too deeply and peace would be made impossible.¹

The French commissioners had evidently reached the extent of the concessions which they were prepared to make. They would grant everything which the Scots asked for; they would yield nothing to the English. When Cecil in obedience to Elizabeth's orders brought up his demand for Calais, De Randan refused to entertain it. 'Rather than the house of Guise would deliver Calais,' he said, 'in minority of the King, being a conquest of theirs, they would suffer all those in the town to perish.' Neither he nor Monluc 'durst so much as enter into speech thereof, for fear of the loss of their heads.'²

On 'the arms and style,' they were at first equally unwilling to give way. Cecil offered 'to spend his blood in the quarrel upon any that would deny Queen Elizabeth's right.' At length, 'after vehemency and some threatening,' De Randan consented 'to have it confessed in words that the realms of England and Ireland of right appertained to her Majesty.'³ But the league between England and the Scotch nobles, the French commissioners positively and decisively refused to recognize by word or deed. They said that they had 'special instructions which they could not disobey, not

¹ Cecil to Norfolk, June 28
Hatfield MSS

² Cecil to the Queen, July 2
MS Rolls House

³ The confession thus extorted is
in the clause beginning 'Cum Regna'

Anglæ et Hiberniæ ad dictam serenissimam Dominam Elizabetham
jurespectent et pertineant'—Treaty
of Edinburgh *RYMER*, vol. xi. p

to mix matters of Scotland and England in one treaty, or dishonour their master with noting that he was forced by the Queen of England to observe anything towards his own subjects.' Cecil said that it might stand as 'a separate engagement;' but 'his travail was in vain;' while Elizabeth's letter to himself left him no discretion. The French could not yield a point which they were distinctly directed not to yield, and 'utterly against his will Cecil was forced to break off, and commit the matter to God.' The importance of the question to the Queen of Scots can be easily understood, the right of the Scotch nobles to make a treaty with the Queen of England was the first step in the transfer of their allegiance; while if the treaty was concluded without it, 'the French,' Cecil said, 'would soon find ground to quarrel again with the Scots;' by avoiding the mistake of resuming prematurely the arms of England, they would leave Elizabeth without a pretext for interfering a second time; and if the Scots were left without support, the friends of France among them would recover their ascendancy¹

July. The commissioners separated, and Cecil most unwillingly was about to direct the advance of Norfolk and the second army; a letter to the Court announcing the failure of the conference was written and sealed; when 'perplexed with the lack of peace' he sent a message to Monluc, which brought Cecil and the Bishop of Valence together again² by themselves.

Both had been anxious for an arrangement; both

¹ Cecil to the Queen, July 2. *Scotch MSS Rolls House.*

were disappointed at their ill success. A vague clause was suggested by which the King and Queen of France might promise Elizabeth to fulfil their engagements with the Scots¹. It did not amount to a stipulation; it was not literally covered by the prohibitory order of the French Court; yet it recognized in Elizabeth the shadow of a right to interfere if those engagements were broken. De Randan consented, Cecil was satisfied, peace was concluded, and the treaty of Edinburgh was drawn and signed.

The substance of it was generally this:—The Scots obtained a general amnesty, the removal of the French army, with a promise that it should never return, the limitation of the officers of state to their own people, and a Government by a council of twelve noblemen, seven of whom were to be named by the Queen, and five by the Estates. Nothing special was said of religion, but it was left to be settled between the Queen of Scots and her own Parliament. The Scottish nobles were permitted to retain the pensions and estates which they held under the French Crown.

England obtained an admission of Elizabeth's right to her Crown, a vague and partial sanction of her relations with the Queen of Scots' subjects, and the disappearance for ever of the threatening army of invasion on the northern Border.

The names of the commissioners were affixed on the 6th of July. It was but just in time. On the 7th

¹ The clause beginning 'Cum Deo optimo Maximo,' &c.—Treaty of Edinburgh RIMEP, vol. xv p. 595

another letter arrived from Elizabeth ; she was exasperated at the success with which the Scots were securing their own interests, and at the small profit which in return for so much money spent she was likely to receive for herself. If peace was concluded, she said, it need not be disturbed again ; if there was still time,—‘the Scots could not serve God and Mammon,’—Cecil must tell them that they must be content to part with their livings and pensions in France, which would breed troubles ; while for herself he was to stand to his demand for the restitution of Calais and the payment of the half-million crowns, as an indemnity for the usurpation of the arms.¹

The public letter was accompanied by another in cipher addressed to Cecil. It is lost ; but Cecil’s answer to it remains, to show the flight which Elizabeth’s ambition was now ready to venture.

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE QUEEN’S MAJESTY

Edinburgh, July 9

‘It may please your Majesty ; the sight of your most gracious letter written with your own blessed hands, before I had deciphered it, raised me up in such height of comfort that after I perceived the sense thereof my fall was greater into the deep dungeon of sorrow than ever I thought any letter of your Majesty’s should have thrown me.

‘And yet after a season gathering my astonished

¹ Elizabeth to Cecil and Wotton, July 7 *Burghley Papers*, vol. 1

spirits together, I am risen into this opinion and comfort of your Majesty's accustomed goodness towards me, and of my own clearness of mind and soul, that when it shall appear by our letters sent from hence the 6th of this month how far we were proceeded, and that also it shall be well weighed in all parts how honourable and necessary this peace is, and how it could not be made any other way, your Majesty will not only take and allow our doings, but will think it a good luck that we had not these your letters before our conclusion, for so had no peace at all been gotten. For breaking off upon the matter of Calais, the French ambassadors would have departed and my Lord of Norfolk should have entered; whereupon must within ten days have happened one of these three things—either the loss of the town, and a perpetual dishonour of the realm—or a winning of it by assault to the effusion of a great deal of Christian blood—or a taking of it by composition—by any of which three ways wars still should have remained; and then by what means Calais could have been obtained I see not; nor by what means this manner of peace would have hereafter been obtained, I neither see nor can consider.

‘As for the message brought by Tremayne,¹ God forbid that your Majesty should enter into that bottomless pit of expense of your force and treasure, within the French King's own mainland—being that manner of war to you more troublesome and dangerous than this

¹ There were two Tremaynes, one of whom was with the army at Leith. Both had been employed in carrying messages between the Prince of Conde, the Admiral Châtillon, and Elizabeth.

of the French King here in Scotland; and yet this is his advantage, that the obedience of this is due to his wife and cannot be lost; and there your Majesty should have no more to further you but a devotion popular upon opinions of religion; wherein the French King, rather than lose that country, would not stick to incline to his people's request, and so your Majesty's purpose could not then last.

‘Indeed this I could and meant always to have allowed, that if ye could not come to a reasonable accord with France, but that they would continue wars, then your Majesty should have entertained that matter of Brittany and Normandy—to have therewith offended and annoyed the French King. But as to have taken and kept any piece there, experience of Boulogne being in sight of Dover teacheth us what to do; and when I consider that for charges neither is Portsmouth your own haven fortified, neither the town of Berwick—most necessary of all others—finished, I should think it strange to take Brest or any other town in those parts, to keep longer than of necessity the French would maintain wars against your Majesty; which being now ceased, and to your great honour, I think it a happy mishap that your Majesty's letter came not before our conclusion. In which my opinion I most humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon me, submitting myself to your Majesty's reformation as becometh me.’^c

It is plain that some communication had been made

^c *Scotch MSS Rolls House*

to Elizabeth by the Huguenot leaders of France; some offer to put her in possession, in return for her assistance, of a town or towns on the coast of Normandy or Brittany; and that Elizabeth in her passionate anxiety to recover Calais had listened to the temptation.

The fate of the project when two years later it was actually put in execution, the story in due time will relate. Meanwhile, her letter came a day too late. The objects for which the war had been undertaken were obtained. The French troops sailed away from Leith. The Scots were left to their own resources to go on with the Reformation. Elizabeth's crown was secured. The Catholics had seen their opportunity fade away amidst the diplomatic perplexities of Europe. The English Government, which was supposed to be so weak that it would fall at the first breath of war, had proved strong enough to defy France and accomplish successfully a difficult military enterprise. The King of Spain was forced to feel that Elizabeth was no creature of his own, that she could choose her own course and carry through her own purposes, whatever might be his pleasure or displeasure.

Lord Clinton wrote to Cecil that 'no better service had ever been done to England;' he trusted it would be 'no less considered than it deserved;' and 'time would show the fruits of it to his great praise that had so discreetly travailed in the same.'¹

¹ Clinton to Cecil, July 13. *Domesday MSS Rolls House* 'My Lord Pembroke,' Clinton continues, | his your very good friend Touch-
ing the matter of Scotland, he re-
maineth firm and sure as in the be-

It remained to be seen how far Elizabeth was prepared to go on with what she had begun, to fulfil the passionate wishes of the Congregation, and accept the hand of the heir-presumptive to the Scotch crown.

I have pursued the story of these proceedings in Scotland thus minutely, because they bring out with so much distinctness the relations of the great powers of Europe towards one another and towards their own subjects; and the characters at the same time of those princes and ministers who were to work out among them the problem of the future of the world. Had Elizabeth preferred her immediate ease and safety, she would have married Philip's kinsman, and disclaimed all connection with Scotch or French or Flemings struggling for freedom. She would have left religion in England unchanged, attempting to modify the fanaticism of the Catholics by some practical toleration, and so have drifted on in happy insignificance, till some fresh ascendancy of ultramontaniam and persecution had been followed by rebellion and civil war. To this issue it must have come at last. The Catholics were constitutionally intolerant, the Protestants constitutionally aggressive. Even the strong hand of Henry the Eighth would have failed eventually to hold an even balance between them. Yet such a course promised better for the moment for

gunning without change or alteration, and hath hitherto stayed his going from the Court until he might hear of a final order of the matter of your commission, which now he heareth to be such as is much to his con-

tentation'

At the foot of the letter Pembroke adds his signature to that of Clinton, who must have shown Pembroke what he had written.

the political influence of England—better for peace and quiet at home. The temptation of it to a common nature would have been irresistible; and that Elizabeth remained in essentials true to the great cause of the Reformation to which she owed her birth and crown, must never be forgotten when we are provoked to condemn her inconsistencies. That she was without distinct doctrinal conviction was rather her merit than her fault. That she was irresolute—that she listened to all sides—that she was unwilling to risk a throne in defence of opinions in which she had but a moderate interest—that she was irritable and impatient—that she quarrelled with her truest friends—all this is plain enough, but it is also reasonable enough. If she had other faults, she was young—and she was a woman. It is sufficient praise that she perilled crown and life in a bold and noble policy.

One special ground of irritation the Queen had too, and special claim for sympathy. Of a nature most free, proud, and independent, she found her own person among the pieces of the diplomatic game. She was to be assigned to this suitor or that according to the projects of this or that political party. She knew that she might be compelled to endure what nevertheless appeared to her a degrading sacrifice: and while she was prepared to yield at the last extremity, the necessity exasperated her pride.

Beyond England the eye rests chiefly on the strange position of Philip of Spain., Charles the Fifth had bequeathed by will to his son two special injunctions—to

destroy heresy, and to maintain the English alliance: and Philip found himself distracted between the incompatible obligations, with no middle course discoverable. If he interfered for France he gave the English throne to the French Queen. If he defended Elizabeth he was maintaining the most dangerous enemy of the Catholic faith. He could not allow the English Catholics to use the occasion of the Scotch war to rebel, lest they should cripple the Queen's power to resist France; and thus virtually he made himself her ally in carrying out a policy which he most dreaded and most deplored. He assisted in establishing the Reformation throughout the whole island of Great Britain, feeling even while doing it that the example in the dangerous neighbourhood might drag the Netherlands into the vortex. De Quadra clung to the hope that Elizabeth might still keep her promise and admit the nuncio; but he found, as he expected, that she had changed her mind with the change of fortune in Scotland. She objected personally to the Abbot of St Saviour's, as having been a friend and companion of the detested Pole. She endeavoured to persuade the Spanish ambassador that between Lutherans and Catholics there was no substantial difference, and that if he knew what she thought he would be sufficiently satisfied with her.

'I told her,' the Bishop wrote to Philip, 'that knowing how she had been brought up I was surprised at nothing that she did. But to your Majesty I am forced in discharge of my conscience—and that I may not be

wanting in my duty to your service—to say how deeply the Catholics here are hurt at the support which this Queen has received from your Majesty, and at the opportunity which you have afforded to heresy to strike its roots into the realm.¹ I am well aware of the efforts which your Majesty has made to divert her from her evil ways, but seeing that nothing avails, you have to consider whether you must not now alter your conduct towards her. The injury to your Majesty's estate in the Low Countries is but too certain. Ten thousand of your subjects are already here with their preachers and ministers, and those who are left behind will be soon infected.

‘I see the Queen obstinate. I see the hearts of the Catholics alienated from your Majesty. Will your Majesty be pleased to think of these things, and to tell me what I am to do?’²

¹ In the margin opposite this passage Philip wrote ‘á este capitulo es bien mirar’

² De Quadra to Philip II., July 25 *MS. Simancas.*